



Mackenzie Delta Research Project

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Arctic Suburb: A Look at the North's Newcomers

By G. F. Parsons

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ARCTIC SUBURB:

A LOOK AT THE NORTH'S NEWCOMERS.

by

G.F. Parsons

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to the Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Issued Under the Authority of the
Honourable Jean Chrétien, P.C., M.P., B.A., LL.L
Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Northern Science Research Group,
Department of Indian Affairs and
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Ottawa, February 1970.

ABSTRACT

This study examines some social characteristics, opinions, and attitudes of subjects in a random sample of white government employees living at Inuvik in the Mackenzie Delta. The report discusses their impressions of life in the north, and the general nature of their participation in community affairs. Some features of the class structure of the white community are examined.

Contact with Indians and Eskimos is limited, and opinions about the native people tend to conform to certain popular stereotypes. Many whites define the native as childlike and irresponsible, and view themselves as behavioural models. There is some evidence that the longer whites stay in the north, the more they are inclined to accept stereotyped definitions of the native people. Some possible implications are discussed.

FOREWORD

The Mackenzie Delta Research Project is an attempt to describe and analyze the social and economic factors related to development in the Mackenzie Delta. Particular emphasis is directed toward the participation of the native people in the area, and the extent to which they are making effective adjustments to changes brought about by government and commercial expansion in the north.

Giving direction to the present study is the assumption that the values, attitudes, and behaviour which native people encounter in the white transient population will be important factors influencing their adjustment to change. A preliminary study cannot, of course, offer final conclusions or policy guidelines, but it can give rise to some hypotheses and provide a basis for further research.

The field work for this report was undertaken by Mr. Parsons in 1967. The pressure of other commitments has delayed publication, but it seems likely that many of the findings are descriptive of social patterns which have persisted for years, and are likely to persist for years to come.

A.J. Kerr,
Chief,
Northern Science Research Group.

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So many people contributed to this study that it is impossible to name all of them here, but special mention must be made of a few. I am grateful to Dr. John J. Honigmann and Mrs. Irma Honigmann for their personal kindness and professional help and advice in the field. Thanks must go to Dick Hill and the staff of The Inuvik Research Laboratory for their untiring patience, helpfulness, and administrative support. Others to whom I owe special thanks include George Thompson, former Regional Administrator at Inuvik; Jack McKenna, of the Department of Public Works; Tom Butters, publisher of the *Drum*; and Commander R.C. Eastman and Lieut. Mike Ruymar of the Canadian Armed Forces. I cannot fail to mention my fellow members of the Northern Science Research Group, and particularly Moose Kerr and Derek Smith. Finally, and most of all, I am deeply grateful to all the people at Inuvik who granted interviews, enduring with patience and hospitality the many tiresome questions that only a social researcher can inflict upon his victims.

G.F. Parsons.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Much has been written about the native peoples of the north, but relatively little about those people from southern Canada who go north in increasing numbers to live for a few years before their careers take them once again to more familiar southern surroundings.

We know very little about the kinds of people who are attracted to the north, what attracts them, or how they adapt once they arrive in the country. How do they define their own situation in the north vis-a-vis the native people? How do they define the role of government as it affects the native northerners, and what are their opinions about government programs? What is the nature and extent of their interaction with northerners, and what are their attitudes towards them? These are some of the questions which the present study seeks to investigate, albeit in a limited way and with reference to a single Arctic community.

A major assumption underlying the research is that the attitudes of "transient" whites, and the definitions they hold of the native people with whom they come in contact, will affect the ways in which native people adapt themselves to a rapidly changing social environment. Accordingly, one of our main purposes is to examine the nature of these definitions. The study is purely exploratory, and was undertaken in the full realization that it could not of itself lead to any final or definitive statements about the attitudes of white transients, about their relations with native northerners, or about the short or long term effects of these attitudes and relations. It is hoped, however, that the data here presented may contribute in some small measure to our understanding of the complexities of acculturation and social change in the north, and that this may serve as a basis for further, more rigorous research.

Method and Sources of Data.

The principal methods employed in the study were those of survey research. A population or "universe" was selected for study and a random sample of subjects was then selected from this population and subsequently interviewed, using an interview schedule constructed specifically for the purpose. These survey research methods were supplemented by others, including informal interviews and some attendance at community meetings.

Defining the Population.

The initial intention was to study the "white transient" population of Inuvik, but it was not an easy matter to arrive at a satisfactory operational definition of this population. Clearly there are varying degrees of transiency, ranging from the stevedore who stays in the settlement for a few days or weeks in summer, to the civil

servant and his family who may remain for several years. Stevedores, construction workers, casual visitors, and others who spend only brief periods in the settlement before returning south are here described as *short-term* or *seasonal* transients; in very general terms, civil servants and others who remain more than a season, or perhaps from one to several years, are called *long-term* transients. Short-term transients were eliminated from the present study, not because they are unimportant (indeed, the influences they exert among the indigenous people are probably quite extensive), but because their group social characteristics appear to differ significantly from those of people who stay longer.

Speaking very generally and impressionistically, it seems a fair guess that seasonal transients probably tend to have lower socio-economic status than do long-term transients — this despite the fact that, by any reasonable definition, the seasonal category would include many persons of high status, such as university scientists and managers of mining companies. Again, the seasonal transients are either single men or married men separated from their families; in contrast, a large proportion of long-term transient males are living in Inuvik with their wives and children. These differing circumstances may stimulate different attitudes, different kinds of behaviour, and different patterns of relationships with the native people. The long-term transients have a stake in maintaining their respectability; unlike most of the seasonals, they have local reputations to lose. Stated another way, they are subject to certain behavioural expectations to which the seasonals generally are not subject. These may include the expectation that one should show “community spirit”, and should become involved in local affairs in some altruistic sense. It is also true that, if only because of the time factor, long-term transients have opportunities to develop an interest in the community and to participate in community affairs; these opportunities are largely denied even to those seasonal transients who might have the requisite motivations or propensities. The point to be made here is that, on the surface of things, there seem to be enough differences between seasonal and long-term transients to warrant the separate study of each group. The present study chooses to focus upon the long-term transients, while recognizing that the seasonals constitute a different category worthy of future research.

The difficulties of defining our population do not end here. If we visualize a continuum of transiency with casual visitors and seasonal workers located at one end, then at the other end, in contrast, are people from southern Canada who have purchased houses in Inuvik, or become local entrepreneurs, or lived for as many as twenty years in the Mackenzie Delta area, or otherwise shown clear intentions of settling more or less permanently in the community. Presumably these people should not be counted as transients, yet there is no clear line of distinction between them and others who seem less permanently established. Furthermore, even if a satisfactory definition of transiency could be formulated, in a relatively large and complex community such as Inuvik it would not be easy to identify all the individuals conforming to the definition. There were no official lists or records which could serve to classify all residents of the community according to degrees of transiency, and no time was available to undertake even a partial census of the white population.

Because of all the factors complicating the identification of transients, the operational definition of the population under study was finally narrowed to include only government employees, civilian and military, living in government-owned housing in the so-called "serviced area". This is the part of Inuvik, described in a later section, which has piped water, sewer, and heating services. While our somewhat restricted definition excludes a number of employees of private firms and even a few civil servants and military personnel who live in the unserviced area, it does include the great majority of long term transients in the work force, there being a close correspondence between transiency and residence in government housing. Of course, adults who do not work, mostly housewives, are excluded as well. However, this does not seem to be a serious flaw in an exploratory study such as the present one, where interest is focused on those southern Canadians who are more likely to have frequent contact with the local native people.

It would be wrong to deny that the operational definition of the population was dictated in some degree by considerations of expediency in a research situation where time and resources were limited; conveniently enough, local records showed the names of virtually all heads of households occupying government housing in the serviced area in April 1967, and without exception these household heads were government employees. This list had only to be supplemented by another list which identified single persons occupying government dormitory accommodations, and by the names of working wives employed full time in government jobs, to furnish a virtually complete enumeration of the transient government work force.

Thus defined, the population selected for study numbered 337,¹ and consisted of 200 civilians and 117 members of the Canadian Armed Forces. Marital status was determined for all members of the population, and nearly all were identified according to sex; there were 199 married males, 37 married females,² approximately 59 single males, and approximately 42 single females. In terms of socio-economic status, they ranged from junior clerks and typists earning less than \$4,000 per year to regional heads of a variety of government agencies earning as much as \$15,000.

Sample Selection

Although small, the population was quite heterogeneous in terms of occupation, socio-economic status, marital status, age, sex, and other relevant variables. Therefore, it seemed unlikely that a simple random sampling design could produce a sample capable of meeting, at one and the same time, the criteria of representative-

¹In fact there were about 360 full-time employees of government living in the serviced area, but for various reasons 23 or 24 were deleted from the study population. These included six native people, one man known to have an Eskimo wife, and three people who had prior knowledge of the interview schedule. Finally, the superintendent then in charge of the local R.C.M.P. establishment refused permission to interview any of his officers, apparently on the grounds that to do otherwise would be a violation of policy. This resulted in the deletion of another 13 or 14 men from the population.

²Includes a few women widowed or separated, and living with their children.

ness and of manageable size. Some form of stratified sampling was desirable, but any stratification scheme capable of taking into account three or four variables would have resulted in a sample size out of proportion to the size of the population, and much too large to be handled in two months of field work by a single researcher, given the circumstances in which interviewing had to be accomplished.¹

The difficulty was met by a compromise: that is, by employing a very simple and rudimentary form of stratification. A single variable — occupational status — was used to distinguish two groups: one of managers and professionals, and the other of lower level white collar and skilled manual workers. The professional-managerial category includes doctors, teachers, social workers, nurses, senior administrators, and commissioned officers in the armed forces; the other category includes technicians, skilled tradesmen, foremen, secretaries, clerks, and incumbents of more junior administrative positions.² These categories constitute an operational convenience for use in ordering the data, and are not meant to be descriptive of social classes within the white transient community.

Ninety-four persons, or 28 percent of the study population, were classed in the professional-managerial group. Their names were numbered on a list and, using a table of random numbers, 15 were selected for interviewing. In the same manner, another sub-sample of 40 prospective interviewees was drawn randomly from the “rank and file” stratum.³ This furnished an overall sample of 55 cases, stratified in proportion to the contribution made by each socio-economic group to the total population. Fifty-five interviews were enough to attempt in the time available, and constituted a sample of just over 16 percent of the population.

¹To illustrate, suppose we select a stratified sampling design involving three variables: socio-economic status, marital status, and sex. If socio-economic status is conceptualized arbitrarily as a dichotomous variable (i.e., as constituting two “classes”—upper and lower), then this sampling design would involve the selection of eight sub-samples, as follows:

1. Upper class married males
2. Upper class married females
3. Upper class single males
4. Upper class single females
5. Lower class married males
6. Lower class married females
7. Lower class single males
8. Lower class single females

To achieve an acceptable degree of statistical reliability, no sub-sample should contain less than ten cases. Unfortunately, that is not the end of the problem. Since the number of cases in each sub-sample should be roughly proportionate to the size of that particular stratum in the population, it would be necessary to have an overall sample of about 200 cases, or nearly two-thirds of the population under study. For a discussion of sampling and related research techniques, see Goode and Hatt (1952).

²A few individuals proved difficult to classify and were placed somewhat arbitrarily in one or the other category, but for the most part our occupational criteria made the classification of individuals a simple matter.

³One case drawn in the “rank and file” sub-sample was identified subsequently as falling more properly in the professional category, with the result that the N for the professional sub-sample inadvertently became 16.

Interviewing

As initially constructed, the interview schedule contained 61 items. There was no opportunity for pre-testing, and numerous additions, deletions, and other modifications were made to the schedule as interviewing progressed. However, a core of more than 50 questions was retained throughout. The interview schedule is presented in its final form in an appendix.

With very few exceptions, respondents were remarkably co-operative. There were no refusals, and only two or three persons made any obvious efforts to avoid being interviewed. To minimize the chances of refusal, advance publicity was given to the project through local press and radio, and "official" letters were sent to all female respondents in advance, requesting their co-operation. With two exceptions, male respondents were given no advance warning, and most were interviewed at the time of first contact. Three prospective respondents were lost when they moved away from Inuvik and a fourth was never located for interviewing. These gaps were filled by drawing substitute names from the population list. A few other respondents were nearly lost, and two actually were interviewed while in the midst of packing their belongings.

In accordance with normal survey research practice, every attempt was made to interview those whose names were initially drawn, and in no case were these efforts abandoned until proven obviously futile. Since every respondent was a full-time member of the work force, all but a few who were on shift work had to be interviewed in the evenings or on weekends. Single interviews lasted from 45 minutes to three hours, depending on how co-operative or talkative a respondent happened to be. The average duration of an interview was between one and a half and two hours. In the end, 53 interviews were completed, 51 of them with persons in the original sample.

Finally, informal and unstructured interviews were held with a number of clergymen, businessmen, and senior officials whose names did not appear in the random sample, in an effort to obtain a broader and more comprehensive view of some of the matters under study.

Notes on Presentation of the Data

Chapters II and III describe the Inuvik community and discuss some apparent features of the transient population. Chapters IV through VI examine adaptations to life in the north, attitudes toward native people, and related matters, including the nature and frequency of inter-racial contact. Following a brief attempt to correlate some of the findings, the final chapter reviews certain tentative conclusions and suggests some ways in which the findings may be relevant in the light of sociological theory and government policy.

Much of the material lends itself to presentation in tabular form. It would have been possible to distribute tables throughout the text, using them as the principal

foci of discussion. However, the large number of tables involved would have rendered this kind of presentation tedious for most readers. Instead, the tables have been placed in an appendix, and the main body of the report undertakes to summarize, often in fairly general terms, the more detailed materials which these tables contain. The order of presentation of the tables corresponds approximately to the order of presentation of data in the main text. Hopefully, this will assist the reader who seeks additional information, or who wants to know in more detail the evidence on which a particular conclusion or generalization is based.

In examining data from the interviews, it will often be useful to differentiate between respondents who are civilians and those who are members of the Canadian Armed Forces. Perhaps the single most important reason for making this distinction is that all civilians can be assumed to have gone north voluntarily, whereas the same assumption cannot be made about military personnel. This fact may have fairly important consequences for the interpretation of some kinds of data. Again, it will be recalled that the sample has been stratified according to two broad categories of occupational status: the upper or professional-managerial level and the lower or skilled-white collar level. Purely for convenience, these groups will be called the "professionals" and the "non-professionals". They too will be contrasted and compared whenever it seems appropriate to do so.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

General Description

Founded in the late 1950's as an administrative and educational centre for Canada's western Arctic, Inuvik is situated on the east side of the Mackenzie River Delta, about 130 miles north of the Arctic Circle and some 80 miles south of the Beaufort Sea. In a sense, the establishment of Inuvik constituted an elaborate experiment; in the words of one observer, "it was consciously designed to demonstrate the possibility of building a northern town with as many of the features of our urban civilization as possible" (Cooper, 1967:12). Accordingly, Inuvik has most of the services and facilities found in any sizeable southern community, and even a few which are not. Following is a description of the town as it appeared in 1967. There have been a number of physical changes since then, notably in the expansion of residential areas, extension of municipal services, and enlargement of educational facilities.

There are modern houses and apartments, modern water and sewer services, a large hospital, and a huge school and hostel complex designed to meet the educational needs of a wide area. Communications facilities include a CBC radio station, a weekly newspaper, and a telephone system which, in addition to providing local service, links Inuvik to other Delta communities and to the outside world. Commercial establishments include a combined supermarket and department store, two or three smaller retail outlets of different kinds, two taxi firms, a service station, barber shop, movie theatre, bakery, hotel, and restaurant. There is a fairly extensive local road network, but no overland transportation to the outside. However, there are regular airline connections to southern Canada, as well as scheduled and charter air services to other northern points.

Roughly speaking, Inuvik consists of two residential areas separated by a central business district. This business core, together with the residential section which lies immediately to the east, is known as the "serviced area". Here a utilidor carries water, sewer, and heating lines to public, commercial and residential buildings alike. West of the commercial core, the "unserved area" is primarily residential, and has no utilidor.¹ Instead, water and sewer services are provided by trucks, and individual householders are responsible for their own heating arrangements. With some notable exceptions, houses in the unserved area are small, overcrowded, and rather decrepit when compared with the brightly painted and well maintained

¹Since 1967 the utilidor has been extended into a part of the area occupied mainly by native people, and now its services are available to those native householders who live along its route, if they can afford to pay the cost.

houses and apartment buildings at the other end of town. Probably the single most outstanding feature of Inuvik is the contrast between the unserved residential area, inhabited chiefly by native northerners, and the served residential area, home to most of the white transients.

Inuvik's population is subject to wide seasonal fluctuations. In autumn, large numbers of children arrive from outlying settlements to attend school, then return to their homes for summer vacation. Similarly, teachers and their families come and go with the beginning and ending of the school year. The consequent population decline in summer is somewhat offset by an influx of seasonal workers: stevedores, construction workers, scientists, and others.

Estimated Population of Inuvik in 1967, by Residential Location

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number</u>
Served Area, Excluding Hostel Children	1,045
Children, Anglican Hostel	270
Children, Catholic Hostel	230
Unserved Area	955
Total (approximate)	2,500

Estimates for the served area are based on a variety of sources, including local housing records of the Department of Public Works, and on personal communications with a number of individuals both in and outside the government service.

The population in April of 1967 was estimated to be approximately 2,500, distributed as shown in the accompanying table. This indicates that when children living in the school hostels are excluded from computation, the population of the served area was only slightly larger than that of the unserved area. There were 55 whites in the unserved area, including seven families numbering 27 persons. The remaining 28 were mostly males married to native women, or in common-law liaisons with native women.¹

The Served Residential Area

Not all civil servants live in the served area, neither is it the exclusive preserve of government employees. A sizeable number of business people, employees of

¹I am indebted to Mrs. Irma Honigmann for population figures and estimates pertaining to the unserved area.

private firms, clergymen, and others, together with their families, live in non-government housing attached to the utilidor system. The fact remains, however, that of approximately 1,000 whites living in the serviced area in 1967, over 900 were government employees or members of their families. These included more than 200 married couples, more than 400 children, and roughly 100 unmarried adults.²

Just as a few civil servants and other whites live in the unserved area, so a few native people – mostly government employees and their families who have come to Inuvik from distant points – live in the serviced area. Informants variously estimated the number of native people in the serviced area as being between 30 and 50.

Government-owned housing, reserved for government employees and their families, varies considerably in type, size, and quality; in 1967 it included 57 detached houses, 156 row housing units, and 66 apartments. The detached houses and row houses are three or four-bedroom units, designed for family occupancy, while the apartments are smaller and designed to accommodate single persons and married couples without children. In addition, at the time of field work there were about 15 detached houses owned by private companies or individuals, as well as eight or nine apartments occupied by single and married business people and situated over stores and other commercial establishments in the central part of town.

Residentially, the serviced area is divided into four more or less distinct sections which, for the sake of convenience, will be called neighbourhoods. There is, first, the neighbourhood where most of the business people reside. This consists of a well defined group of detached houses immediately adjacent to the commercial district and, as indicated above, the commercial district itself. The three remaining neighbourhoods, situated at a greater distance from the business area, are occupied principally by government employees. In each of these, one or another type of housing predominates. Since two important criteria for the allocation of housing are bureaucratic rank and marital status, there are fairly marked status differentiations between neighbourhoods.

In the extreme southeastern part of the townsite is an area occupied exclusively by detached, single family dwellings. There are 49 houses in this neighbourhood, of which 44 are government-owned; the remaining five include the permanent homes of some of the most prosperous local entrepreneurs. Here live most of the transient community's top elite: commissioned officers in the armed forces, doctors and other professionals, and senior administrators. Some people of lesser rank also live in the neighbourhood, still it is acknowledged throughout Inuvik to be the most "exclusive" residential area in town. Predictably, this gives rise to a number of

²Precise figures on the white "government" population are not available because government housing records did not identify occupants by ethnic affiliation. The records showed, for example, that 448 children lived with parents or guardians in crown-owned housing, but these included an unknown number of native children.

derogatory epithets, and the neighbourhood is variously called "Hemorrhoid Hill", "Snob Hill" and "Pusser Pond", by some of those excluded.¹

North of the area of detached houses, and separated from it by Mackenzie Drive, the town's main east-west traffic artery, is a neighbourhood where row housing predominates. Of 167 family dwellings in this area, only 11 are detached houses; the rest are situated in 39 row houses, each containing four dwelling units. Among the occupants of row housing the range in socio-economic status is rather broad, and includes clerks, tradesmen, technicians, military people of lower rank, teachers and other professionals, and administrators in middle management positions. Once again, only the more senior officials and professionals live in the few detached houses situated in this neighbourhood.

Finally, an area of apartments, situated just off Mackenzie Drive and somewhat closer to the business district, is home to more than half of the unmarried transient whites of Inuvik, both male and female, and to a few young married couples as well. There are only three apartment buildings facing a small common, and in spatial terms the area hardly deserves to be called a neighbourhood; however, it does seem to warrant that name when viewed in terms of the amount of social interaction among its inhabitants. The population of apartment dwellers is occupationally heterogeneous, and includes clerks, tradesmen, secretaries, nurses, and teachers. These young single adults appear to interact much more with one another, and with other unmarried people living in dormitories attached to local government establishments, than with the married residents of other neighbourhoods. Marital status, not socio-economic status, is the most important factor differentiating these people from the inhabitants of nearby areas.

In summary, the principal social criteria determining the neighbourhood in which families or individuals will live are socio-economic or occupational status, marital status, and whether or not employment is within or without the government service. A considerable degree of residential segregation is evident along these lines.

A Note on Class Structure

The foregoing indicates that the transient community contains a number of fairly distinct social divisions, including relatively marked status differentiations. The interview data provide further evidence of this, with many informants affirming the existence of a local class structure. There was much talk of cliques, and repeated allegations that individuals and families attached to one or another government department or agency "stuck together" and refused to "mix" with those attached to other agencies. These accusations were directed most frequently, but not exclusively, at servicemen and their families.

¹"Hemorrhoid Hill" is a play on words. The houses are mounted on piles driven into the permafrost. The same epithet is sometimes applied to the entire serviced area. "Pusser" is a British Navy slang term which means, roughly, "correct" or "according to regulations".

It seems that lines of cleavage in accordance with agency affiliations are crosscut by other lines drawn in accordance with status differentials. This means, for example, that an individual occupying a high ranking position in one agency probably will choose to associate in his leisure time with others in high ranking positions in his own or in other agencies, possibly showing some preference for his professional colleagues. He is less likely to associate with individuals of markedly lower status than himself, whether they work in his own or in other agencies. None of this is very surprising. What is perhaps a little more unusual to an outside observer is the way in which social class alignments within the civilian population apparently have assumed an approximate correspondence to the major categories in the rank structure of the local military establishment.

The clubrooms and messes at the military base are settings for many formal and informal social gatherings to which civilians frequently are invited. Civilians occupying high status positions are invited regularly to the commissioned officers' club, those occupying positions somewhat lower on the status scale are invited to the non-commissioned officers' club, while civilians of still lower status are denied invitations to either. Being admitted to one or another of the social circles having their locus at the military base is recognized throughout the transient community as a mark of status, and the identities of those admitted or excluded are widely known.

Significantly, admittance or exclusion depends upon how the military officers define the statuses of the civilians. By inviting any particular individual, the officers may confirm his existing status in the community or, if his social standing is any way in doubt, they may confer status upon him. The officers, and particularly the commanding officer, thus become the arbiters of social acceptability, to whom those civilians with social aspirations pay deference.

These generalizations are supported by the statements of several informants who spoke of the military having "caused classes to form" or having "perpetuated class divisions" through their patterns of association with civilians. Said the wife of a commissioned officer: "My husband would kick me for saying this, but there are class divisions here and I think the civil servants have fallen under the influence of our rank system".

It seems clear that the presence of a military establishment has functioned, if not actually to shape the local class structure, then at least to intensify, stabilize, and make more explicit the status differences existing within the transient population.

CHAPTER III

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSIENT POPULATION

The principal aim of this study is to learn more about the people from the south who come to Inuvik. Of course, it would be ridiculous to suggest that a study of limited scope could furnish a definitive profile of the "typical" white transient. Assuming it could be constructed at all, such a profile could only result from a series of field investigations in depth, involving several larger samples drawn over a span of time. However, very little has been done in the way of controlled observation of white transient attitudes, perceptions, and motivations, so that even the most tentative statements may be useful.

It seems useful to begin by looking briefly at the origins of transients as represented in our sample, and at their age distribution, educational levels, and family composition. The next chapter will consider some of the reasons they give for coming to Inuvik, their impressions of the community, and the capacities they show for adapting to northern living. Not only are these matters intrinsically interesting, but consideration of them may provide a useful background for subsequent examination of the attitudes displayed by transients toward native people.

Origins of Transients

In discussing the origins of transients, reference is to places where respondents say they "grew up", and not necessarily to places of birth. As elsewhere in this report, percentage calculations are approximate.

About 58 percent of civilian respondents were from the four western provinces; in contrast, only 38 percent of servicemen interviewed were from the west. It is not too surprising that Canadians who choose to go to the western Arctic should tend to originate in the western provinces, if only because of the relative geographical proximity of the two regions. It is noteworthy, however, that more respondents originated in Europe (17 percent) than in Ontario (14 percent), and Ontario contributed far more heavily to the sample than did any other eastern province.

There is some evidence that, for a good many who did not originate in western Canada, migration to the West is an intermediate step on the route north; of 34 civilians asked to name their last place of residence in the south, 26 (77 percent) indicated one of the four western provinces, and 14 (41 percent) mentioned Alberta.

There is evidence too that people who are attracted to the north tend to come from small towns and from the country. This may be true despite variations in socio-economic status; 60 percent of civilians in both the professional and non-professional subsamples came from communities with populations of less than 5,000. Only 44 percent of servicemen originated in communities of this size.

Whereas only 20 percent of civilian respondents were raised in cities of more than 100,000 population, 55 percent lived in cities of this size just before going to the north. It is a reasonable guess that dislike of city life not infrequently plays a part in the decision to migrate to a frontier area, and in fact several people mentioned this as one of their reasons for doing so. For military personnel, the last place of residence is determined in every case by the location of military bases.

Age Distribution

Mailhot has pointed out that, demographically speaking, the white population of Inuvik does not exhibit a normal age distribution, there being many more young and middle-aged people than in the Canadian population as a whole (Mailhot, 1968:1). The present study yields evidence supporting this assertion. The great majority of respondents are between the ages of 20 and 39, including 73 percent of civilians and all servicemen but one. In contrast, only 45 percent of the adult Canadian population (over age 20) fell within the 20 to 39 age range in 1966.¹ Older people are not entirely absent, however, and one man in his sixties turned up in the sample. The professionals tend to be only slightly older than the non-professionals, the mean ages for the two categories being 34.4 and 32.8, respectively.

Education

As might be expected, members of the professional-managerial class exhibit the highest levels of scholastic achievement, all of them claiming at least high school graduation or the equivalent. Two in this group were university graduates and five others reported having some university education, ranging from "a few courses" to the completion of three college years. Fourteen had professional training: 10 in teaching, three in nursing, and one in dentistry.

Civilians in the non-professional class tend to have more schooling than do servicemen. The difference in mean number of years of schooling is slight, being 11 for civilians and 10.3 for military personnel of non-commissioned rank. However, fewer than one quarter of the servicemen had graduated from high school (meaning completion of Grade 12 in most provinces), whereas nearly half of the civilian non-professionals were secondary school graduates, and three of these claimed some attendance at college.

Apparently our respondents tend to have more education than does the Canadian population as a whole. A labour force survey report published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimates that of all Canadians 14 years of age and over in 1965, about 15 percent had completed high school and another five percent had attended university without graduating (Whittingham, 1966:8). In the Inuvik sample, about 37 percent of respondents had completed high school and another 15 percent had attended university without graduating. The proportion of

¹Source: 1961 Census of Canada.

non-professionals (both civilian and military) who had finished high school was over 28 percent, so that even the least educated groups in our sample seem well above the national level in educational attainment.¹

Family Composition

We define a family as consisting of a married couple with or without children, or a widowed, divorced, or separated parent with one or more children, living together in the same household. This is similar to the census definition of the family used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.² Thirty-nine respondents who were members of families reported a total of 89 children living at home, for a mean of 2.6 children per family. Civilian professionals, with a mean of 1.6 children per family, came closest to the national average of 1.9.³ Only five families had no children, or none living at home. The fact that families in the sample are slightly larger than the national average may be due to chance alone; on the other hand, the proportion of married couples of child-rearing age appears to be higher in Inuvik than in the general population. Children ranged in age from four months to 20 years, the mean age being about 8 years.

¹The above percentage figures for the general population were computed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics from survey data, and not from census data. However, census data for 1961 likewise show that relatively few Canadians had a secondary or higher education. For example, of the population between the ages of 20 and 39 in 1961, less than 17 percent had completed four or five years of high school, and another three percent had attended university without graduating. (Percentages computed by the author). Source: *1961 Census of Canada*, Vol. 1, Part 3, Table 102.

² *1966 Census of Canada*, Vol. II, No. 4, June 1968.

³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

ADAPTING TO LIFE AT INUVIK

Time Served in the North

Just over half of all respondents, both civilian and military, reported less than three years of northern experience, and just under half mentioned living at some other northern location before coming to Inuvik. Excluding from the computation two civilians who claimed that they “grew up” in the north, the mean number of months served in the north was 49 for civilians and 44 for military personnel; the means for time served in Inuvik were 30 months and 19 months, respectively. Everything points to greater transiency among the military. For example, 44 percent of servicemen but only 24 percent of civilians expected to remain at Inuvik for less than one more year. Again, nearly one third of civilians but no servicemen expressed the desire to remain indefinitely in the north, although not necessarily at Inuvik.

Reasons for Going North

Asked to explain what it was that had attracted them to the north, 60 percent of civilians mentioned job incentives of one kind or another. Some differences between professionals and non-professionals were discernible. Proportionately more of the latter said that they went north simply because jobs were available there, or even because they were obliged to go north in order to keep the jobs they had. On the other hand, professionals were somewhat more inclined to say that they were attracted by prospects of finding satisfaction in their work, or by the opportunity of performing tasks which they could not perform in the south. This was more particularly true of a few teachers, who indicated that they had come north because they wanted to teach native children. However, even among teachers, only a minority said that they were motivated by the need to experience satisfaction or a sense of accomplishment in their work. Among professionals and non-professionals alike, relatively few mentioned being attracted by prospects of promotion or high wages.

About half of all civilians said that they were lured northward, wholly or in part, by the desire for adventure, travel, new experience, or the excitement of “pioneering”. Indeed, if to these we add the people who spoke of the north’s recreational attractions (notably hunting and fishing) and of the wish to escape city life, then it can be said that more than two-thirds of civilians in the sample were motivated, at least in part, by a desire to escape a routine existence in the south. Among professionals, the proportion so motivated is 80 percent. Of course, many respondents gave more than one reason for going north, and about as often as not, the desire for adventure or escape was combined with motives relating to employment.

The situation is different for servicemen, of course, but the extent of difference remains an open question. A number of informants within and without the sample, commissioned officers and civilians alike, emphasized the involuntary nature of military duty at Inuvik; usually this point was stressed in explaining the serviceman's alleged disinterest in community affairs, or in defending his right to high quality accommodation and other special compensations while serving in the north. It is interesting, therefore, that 12 of the 16 servicemen in the sample answered affirmatively (even if sometimes rather equivocally) when asked if they had volunteered for northern duty. In contrast to the civilians, most of the servicemen who volunteered said that higher pay was the principal incentive, and only two or three mentioned the desire for adventure or escape from routine.

Fewer than one third of all civilians in the sample said that they had chosen to come to Inuvik in preference to some other northern location. Asked to state why they had chosen Inuvik, several mentioned that relatives or friends had been living in the town before they came; others spoke of being prompted by chances of advancement in their careers, or by "curiosity". Among the majority not choosing Inuvik, some said it had been a second or third choice, or that there had been no opportunity to choose, or that the location of the job had been a matter of indifference.

More than half of the servicemen said that they had been offered a choice of northern postings and had chosen Inuvik because they had never been there before, because it was closer to their homes, or because the alternatives offered less pay or a less pleasant environment.

Impressions and Reactions

Apparently the majority of newcomers manage to make a reasonably satisfactory adjustment to life in Inuvik, despite difficulties related to climate, isolation, unfamiliar social conditions, and separation from family and friends. Respondents tended to consider that their fellow transients were generally friendly and congenial. Most had managed to make new friends since their arrival, and had found opportunities for participating in a variety of sports, recreational, and social activities.

Nearly two-thirds of all respondents said that, generally speaking, they liked Inuvik. Twenty-six percent showed either ambivalence or affective neutrality, offering comments such as: "I like it and I don't like it"; and "I don't dislike it, but I wouldn't want to spend my life here". Only four people expressed definite dislike of the community, and another had arrived too recently to form an opinion. Civilian professionals showed a proportionately greater tendency to like Inuvik than did respondents in other occupational categories; 80 percent of professionals were favourably impressed with the town, whereas the proportions for non-professionals and servicemen were 68 percent and 44 percent, respectively.

In identifying the "main things" that they liked about Inuvik, people spoke most frequently of their preference for living in a small community, mentioning how

much they enjoyed the "peace and quiet", the "slower pace of living", or the "friendly atmosphere". Many spoke of the favourable opportunities for participating in organized team sports, and others mentioned their enjoyment of hunting, fishing, hiking, and similar outdoor activities.

The proportion of respondents who expressed satisfaction with their own jobs is larger among professionals than among non-professionals. This is not too surprising. In the first place, professionals probably tend to experience greater job satisfaction wherever they live. Furthermore, they might be expected to show somewhat greater sophistication and skill in the arts of impression management when being interviewed. They know that as professionals they are expected to enjoy their jobs, and probably they tend to respond in accordance with this expectation.

More professionals said that they liked the native people, or that they liked working with them. This may be related to a greater tendency among professionals to define themselves as socializers of the Indians and Eskimos. Furthermore, providing services to native people is an occupational role requirement of most professionals.

Predictably, some of the chief complaints had to do with isolation, climate,¹ and high prices in the local shops. Perhaps not quite so predictable was the frequency with which people volunteered critical comments about social divisions within the transient community, and especially between the transient and native communities. In fact, complaints of this kind were more frequent than any other when respondents were asked to name the things they disliked about Inuvik. For many, this question was an opportunity to criticize the government's management of Indian and Eskimo affairs, particularly in the fields of housing, education, employment, and social assistance. These matters are discussed in more detail in a later section.

Perceived Deprivations

Of all the deprivations experienced in connection with northern living, the most widespread is a sense of confinement, a perceived inability to "get away" or "go someplace". Nearly half of those interviewed said that they missed the opportunities to travel which they had enjoyed in the south, and more than one third missed being able to drive for pleasure in their own automobiles. People can and do have automobiles at Inuvik, but local roads are few and there is no highway link with any other settlement. In consequence, people accustomed to the freedom of unrestricted motoring on holidays or weekends feel a frustration best expressed by the woman who said: "I miss a road so badly it hurts". Similarly, a good many respondents said they missed opportunities for outdoor recreation, including golf, swimming, gardening, and picnics.

¹Several subjects commented that they did not object to the climate, and a few said more positively that they liked it.

Many others said that they missed the varied forms of entertainment available to residents of southern cities, notably live theatrical performances, a choice of good movies, and dining out. Both men and women missed being able to shop in a wide variety of stores. Fewer than one fifth of those interviewed missed television, and nearly as many volunteered the information that they did *not* miss television.

Except for recreational facilities, transients seem to want for very little, and several respondents indicated that they did not perceive themselves to be deprived in any way whatever. There were few complaints about housing or household facilities; on the contrary, there were many favourable comments about the living quarters, furniture, and appliances provided by the government. Inuvik's array of creature comforts apparently surpasses the expectations of most transients; about 60 percent of those questioned said that before their arrival in the town, they had not expected to find so many modern conveniences and facilities.

Community Participation

It has been said that Inuvik's high rate of population turnover functions, along with other related factors, to inhibit social integration and prevent the development of a sense of community. While this may be true in some ways, nevertheless there are indications of widespread interest and involvement in community issues and activities. Some of the evidence is contained in the following data on participation in voluntary associations, while more will emerge in subsequent discussion.

Seventy-five percent of those interviewed reported membership in one or more voluntary associations, the mean number of memberships per person being 1.7. Proportionately, more professionals held memberships than did non-professionals or servicemen. Furthermore, the mean number of memberships per person was highest among professionals at 2.3, and lowest among servicemen at 1.3.

Nearly 65 percent of all memberships were in clubs and associations devoted entirely or principally to sports, recreation, or sociability. Participation in organized team sports, especially curling and baseball, was mentioned frequently. Only twenty-five percent of memberships and affiliations were with community service organizations such as the Lions Club, Library Society, Centennial Committee, and various youth groups.

Several respondents claimed that opportunities for community service abounded, but that most people were too apathetic to participate. In particular, military people frequently were accused of keeping to themselves and of failing to make any contribution to community life. The available data suggest, however, that servicemen may be about as active in community work as are civilian non-professionals. Among those interviewed, five servicemen and five non-professionals were engaged in community work, even though the latter were more numerous in the random sample. The servicemen were involved in directing youth activities: coaching baseball teams, supervising boy scouts, and chaperoning teenage dances. One serviceman in the sample was not interviewed because he was so involved in

community work that he could never be found at home in his spare time. Two commissioned officers were known to be active in the Community Association and the Centennial Committee. Before the period of field research, another officer apparently had been one of the prime movers in organizing a fund-raising drive to establish a community centre.

This is not to say that military people were more involved than civilians, but rather that they were more involved than many civilians seemed to think. In fact, civilian professionals in the sample showed a slightly higher rate of participation in community service organizations, but the difference was not great.

Voting behaviour is another indicator of interest and involvement in community affairs. The first election of a village council took place in the spring of 1967, shortly after Inuvik was incorporated as a municipality. About 230 whites voted in the election. Since so few of the whites can be classified as permanent residents, it is safe to assume that at least 200 of these voters were transients, and hence about 35 percent of the transient adult population apparently voted. However, not all transients would be eligible to vote, so that among those eligible, the proportion voting must have been greater. These speculations gain some support from the interview data. About 43 percent of respondents who were eligible to vote reported having voted, but several others indicated that they would have done so had they not been absent from the town at election time.

While these figures do not indicate a particularly high rate of political involvement, they do suggest that feelings of interest or obligation toward the community were experienced by a large proportion of the transient population. So many transients would not have voted had they not shared certain values pertaining to the community and to their place within it. This in itself attests to a certain degree of social integration within the white community, at least. However, the problem of integration has many facets and other signs point to the existence of non-integrative features, including major social cleavages along ethnic, occupational, and class lines.

CHAPTER V

DEFINING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

In view of isolation, small population, and other circumstances of the social environment, it is not too surprising that transients show a good deal of consensus in defining community problems. In very general terms, the problems most frequently identified had to do with deviant behaviour, community integration, social and economic difficulties of the native population, and government policies related to these difficulties.

Excessive drinking by both natives and whites was mentioned more than anything else. Almost 60 percent of respondents defined drinking as a problem, 28 percent considered it the most serious of all problems, and about 35 percent volunteered the opinion that it was a problem for whites as well as for Indians and Eskimos.¹ About 17 percent thought that whites abused alcohol as much or even more than did natives.

Sexual promiscuity was another form of deviance often mentioned. Not infrequently it was alleged that white men, including a few long-term transients of middle class status, made a practice of having illicit sexual relations with native women and girls. Informants often cast the men in a predatory role, while others perceived the women as willing collaborators who sometimes showed readiness to exploit the men when there was opportunity. Events observed at the local cocktail bar gave support to the view that native women were not mere passive recipients of white men's advances.

Certain consequences of promiscuity, notably illegitimacy and venereal disease, also were defined as serious social problems. There was virtually no mention of crime as such, but a few people spoke of vandalism, juvenile delinquency, and child neglect.

Problems of community integration and group relations occupy the attention of transients almost as much as does deviant behaviour, the social barriers perceived to exist between native people and whites being of particular concern. Informants spoke repeatedly of segregation, referring most often to the separation of the residential areas occupied by natives and transients. They mentioned discrimination, prejudice, native resentment, mutual intolerance, and lack of contact between the groups, frequently defining these to be the most serious of all community problems.

The living conditions of the native people were often deplored, and many comments made about the injustice of a situation in which most Indians and

¹See Appendix I, Table 29, footnote 3.

Eskimos lived in substandard housing with inadequate sanitary facilities, while transient whites enjoyed good accommodation and modern services. It is not unreasonable to hypothesize that for a good many transients feelings of guilt are associated with this awareness of the differential in quality of housing.

Suggestions for the improvement of inter-ethnic relations included providing better job opportunities to native people, providing them with housing and municipal services equal to those enjoyed by transients, and integrating the housing so that the two groups might live together in the same area.

Of course, many informants also spoke about social divisions within the transient community, as described in Chapter II. A few deplored these divisions and considered them to constitute a problem in community integration, but most seemed to accept them as normal and inevitable.

Many transients perceive the native people to harbour attitudes and orientations which are at variance with the middle class value system, and which are defined, therefore, as constituting or giving rise to social problems. Thus the native person is said to lack initiative, to lack meaningful goals, to be irresponsible in his attitudes toward job and family, when in all probability he simply does not share the transient's concern for these things, or expresses his concern in ways which the transient cannot see or cannot understand. Also defined as problems were certain alleged inadequacies in government administration and policy, to be discussed further in the next section.

Some Opinions About Government

The government's management of Indian and Eskimo affairs was the target of a great deal of criticism. Of course, some questions in the interview schedule were designed specifically to invite critical comments, but spontaneous expressions of disapproval also were heard many times in response to other questions not so designed. The frequency of criticism, together with the volubility and even bitterness with which disapproval often was expressed, suggests that many transients experienced disillusionment and a sense of alienation from government, both as citizens and as employees.

Fewer than 40 percent of respondents thought that the government was doing "a pretty good job" in its programs to assist native people. The rest were about equally divided in two groups: those who were unequivocal in their opinion that the government was not doing a good job, and those who were ambivalent, undecided, or had no opinion. Professionals, many of them involved in implementing the programs they were criticizing, tended somewhat more than others to think that the government was doing a good job, but they also attached more qualifications to this opinion. Thus, several professionals considered the government's efforts to be effective "up to a point", or said that generally successful efforts had been marred by specific failures.

Nearly 60 percent of the sample thought that the provision of educational facilities and opportunities was the “main thing” that government had done for the native people, while others mentioned the provision of medical services, job opportunities, and housing. On the other hand, most of these same government measures frequently came under fire for alleged deficiencies: the educational program for failing to provide enough in the way of adult education and vocational training; the employment program for failing to provide enough jobs, or to provide jobs much above the menial level; the housing program for providing substandard accommodation and inadequate sanitary services, and for perpetuating the social distinctions between native people and transients.

There were repeated allegations that the government was “pushing the natives too fast”, meaning that officials both in Ottawa and the field entertained unrealistic expectations concerning the rate of change (in education, employment, housing, community participation) with which natives were willing or able to cope.

More than anything else, the government was censured for its welfare policy, or more accurately, for what was popularly believed to be welfare policy. Without being asked, well over half of those interviewed expressed the opinion that the government was too generous and indiscriminate in making welfare payments to unemployed native people. These respondents were subscribing, wholly or in part, to the widespread belief that native people have only to ask for social assistance, and money is given to them virtually without question. According to popular report, natives are continually quitting their jobs in order to “go on relief”, in which circumstances they manage to live as comfortably as when fully employed. Furthermore, the story goes, many parents habitually use their social assistance payments to drink and carouse, while their children go unfed and unclothed, and local officials stand idly by. In the public mind, the result of these alleged practices is to stifle incentive and to inhibit seriously, if not to obliterate totally, any “sense of responsibility”.

Of course, those in authority present a different account of the situation. One official thought that welfare administrators served as “whipping boys” because transients “have to have somebody or something to blame for the natives’ problems, so they blame welfare”. He claimed that there was very little opportunity for abuse of social assistance funds, because only about one percent of payments were in the form of cash or cheques. Most of the time, relief recipients were given credit notes which could only be exchanged at one of the local stores for food or other necessities. This official went on to say:

Whenever someone tells me about people spending their social assistance on liquor I ask him for names, because if I ever find anyone doing that I’ll have him brought up in court as an example. It *may* happen the very odd time, but I know of no specific cases. The odd time somebody might sell his credit note for about one quarter of its value and use the money for booze, but it would be very seldom.

Another individual, not an official, put the many complaints about welfare policy in a somewhat different perspective with the following observation:

The whites go around complaining about how the government gives everything to the natives and never stop to think of the handouts that they get themselves. Look at the elaborate housing and furniture and appliances that the civil servants get, and the rent they pay covers only a fraction of the cost. Most of them couldn't afford to live in the south the way they live here thanks to government subsidies, but they have the nerve to complain about the natives relying on handouts.

CHAPTER VI

VIEWING THE NATIVE PEOPLE

Nature and Frequency of Contact

In the hope of obtaining some preliminary data on the nature and frequency of contact between natives and transients, respondents were presented with a series of structured items asking them to provide, within certain specified categories, information about the following:

- (1) places and situations in which they met and talked with adult native people;
- (2) how often they met and talked with native adults inside and outside the job situation;
- (3) how often they paid "social" visits to native homes, or were visited "socially" in their own homes by natives.

It soon became clear that to "meet and talk" means different things to different people, and for many it may signify little more than saying "hello" to a casual acquaintance in the street.

More than 90 percent of respondents reported meeting and talking with native adults while at work, and most described this as a daily occurrence. Typically, contact in the work situation is with native fellow employees, usually subordinate, or with native clients. Such contact takes a variety of forms, and may range from a brief exchange of greetings with the office janitor to a formal encounter between white professional and native job seeker or relief applicant.

Of course, many people have contacts outside their places of employment: at the store, in the post office, on the street. In leisure hours there are contacts in restaurant and cocktail bar, and at concerts, carnivals, sporting events, and other community functions. Frequency of contact appears to be subject to seasonal variations; transients and natives are more likely to come together in summer, when warm weather and continuous daylight render conditions for meeting more favourable. As one respondent pointed out, "in Inuvik you don't stroll around much in winter".

Nearly two-thirds of the sample mentioned meeting native people at "club or association meeting"; these responses were to a structured question, and it soon became clear that the "club meetings" to which many referred actually were curling matches, there being a number of native people in the curling club. About half reported contacts at private parties, often adding, however, that such encounters were "seldom" or "rare". Servicemen appear to have slightly more contact at parties

than do others, perhaps because, in the words of one serviceman: "Some of our guys are married to native women who are very nice and clean people".

There is little doubt that interaction at private parties involves a small and select group of native people who are highly acculturated, hold high status jobs, or are married to whites. One respondent who reported contact at parties revealed the identity of the only "native person" he had ever encountered in such a situation: a highly acculturated young woman who would appear no different from others in any gathering of Euro-Canadians.

In general, civilian non-professionals seem to have more contact than do other occupational groups. More than 55 percent of non-professionals reported that, without counting contacts at their places of employment, they talked to native people at least once a day. In contrast, only one quarter of the servicemen and one fifth of the professionals said that they talked to natives once a day outside the work situation. Similarly, more non-professionals said that native persons "often" paid social visits to their homes, and that they themselves "often" visited native homes. This is not to suggest that visiting between transients and natives is a common event; in the sample as a whole, about two thirds said that they rarely or never visited native homes, and more than half said that natives rarely or never visited them.

In summary, it appears that the majority of transients have brief and often superficial contacts more or less daily, mostly at work, and principally with a very limited number of native people. The experience of many whites seems typified by one who said: "I *speak* to them every day, but *talk* to them very little. I suppose I have conversations about once a week, but always with the same people". None of this is too surprising, given the cultural, linguistic, and educational differences which exist between most natives and most whites, and given the general residential separation of the two populations. It seems a fair guess that where contact is not casual and fleeting it tends to be formal and structured, and typically in either case, the whites maintain whatever degree of social distance they may deem appropriate to the occasion, while largely controlling the initiation, duration, and termination of contact. While social distance and control of interaction were not studied systematically, nevertheless these tentative observations are consistent with, if not in every way identical to, the findings of other researchers (Dailey, 1961; Cohen, 1962; Vallee, 1962; Clairmont, 1963).

Popular Stereotypes

As mentioned at the outset, a major objective of the research was to explore some of the ways in which transients perceive or define the native people, and more than a dozen items in the interview schedule were designed with this end in view. Most of these items took the form of statements about Indians and Eskimos with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree, while a few consisted of open-ended questions intended to elicit more spontaneous responses. Such a combination of highly structured and loosely structured items seemed appropriate

to an exploratory study, since it might produce data of a kind that had not been anticipated in advance, while at the same time permitting the preliminary or partial testing of a few hypotheses, more or less explicitly formulated.

In general terms, it was anticipated that perceptions of the native people would tend to be in conformity with certain popular stereotypes, and this proved to be the case. Asked to give their "main impressions" of the native people, nearly 60 percent of respondents described them as cheerful, happy, friendly extroverts. On the negative side, many considered them lazy, poor workers, lacking initiative, and without sense of responsibility. In total, the comments evoked by this item were favourable somewhat more often than they were unfavourable.

Nearly 90 percent of respondents agreed with the statement that "most native people will never get ahead in the modern world until they learn to plan for the future", and almost 75 percent thought that they wasted money and failed to appreciate its value. There appeared to be a slight tendency, possibly due to sampling error, for servicemen to deviate more than others from these majority opinions, but otherwise the differences between occupational categories were small. However, these differences became greater in response to certain items designed to evoke somewhat more extreme or intolerant opinions. For example, in the sample as a whole about 40 percent agreed that native people were "almost as impulsive as children", but this statement was endorsed by over half of the servicemen, roughly one third of the non-professionals, and only one quarter of the professionals. Similarly, 17 percent of respondents considered most natives to be too lazy or indifferent to take part in community affairs, but no professionals held this view.

These differences are in the direction predicted, for it was an initial hypothesis that professionals would exhibit greater tolerance and less propensity to subscribe to stereotypes, negative or otherwise. The available evidence is inconclusive, however, for not all the relevant data support this hypothesis. For example, sixty percent of professionals but only 36 percent of non-professionals considered that Eskimos were more industrious than Indians, thereby endorsing the ancient stereotype of the lazy Indian. When asked to name some "important differences" between Eskimos and Indians, professionals usually volunteered comparisons which were unfavourable to the Indians, and did so about as frequently as did non-professionals.¹ According to these comparisons, Eskimos often are perceived to be more friendly, more cheerful, more self-reliant, and more goal-oriented. On the other hand, professionals were considerably less inclined than others to think that Eskimos were more honest than Indians.

As previously indicated, there is a strong measure of agreement that Eskimos and Indians alike have a serious problem with alcohol. There is, furthermore, the

¹The results of statistical tests described in a later section also detract from the credibility of the hypothesis that professionals are less likely to accept stereotyped definitions. One test shows no statistically significant relationship between civilian occupational status and acceptance, although the difference which does exist between professionals and non-professionals in this respect, is in the predicted direction.

general conviction that native people are somehow less capable than whites of controlling their behaviour when drinking. This belief appears to prevail at all socio-economic levels, and was noted also by Clairmont in his study of Aklavik (1963:64). It is almost certainly an extension or corollary of the notion that Indians and Eskimos are childishy impulsive. Belief in the essential childishness of natives is persistent and widespread, having been observed in different regions of the Canadian North by Cohen (1962), Vallee (1962) and others.

Transients as Socializers

In his study of Baker Lake, Vallee observed that most of the whites in that settlement defined themselves as socializers of the Eskimo. He says:

With the exception of a few individuals who are not directly involved in Eskimo affairs, every Kabloona encountered feels impelled to change at least some features of Eskimo behaviour and bring them into line with his or her conception of the desirable person. Of course, some representatives of Kabloona institutions have explicit instructions to teach the Eskimos some or all of the skills, attitudes, and standards of behaviour which are regarded as desirable by their institutions. We refer here to the missionaries, teachers, nurse, N.S.O. and R.C.M.P. However, other Kabloona, such as the spouses of these persons, some D.O.T. and H.B.C. personnel, also feel impelled to adopt a teaching and protective attitude with the Eskimos, young and old. (Vallee, 1962:129)

It was anticipated that transients at Inuvik would be inclined to exhibit essentially the same attitudes and orientations as those which Vallee found at Baker Lake, and generally speaking the data support this hypothesis. Over 85 percent of professionals and 60 percent of civilian non-professionals considered that they themselves were in a position to "do something to help the native people". Asked to specify how they might help, most indicated that, in one way or another, they could best do so in some socializing capacity. Teachers are, of course, socializers by virtue of their jobs, and not suprisingly they tended to think that their best opportunities for service lay in the performance of their professional skills. Other professionals held similar views, and also mentioned the contribution they might make by exemplary conduct in their personal and public lives. Non-professionals, lacking the same structured or formal opportunities for service, were still more inclined to speak of themselves as exemplars or behavioural models. Repeatedly, they spoke of helping the native people by "setting a good example": in sobriety and general public deportment, in punctuality and job performance, in money management, in cleanliness, in style of life. Without always distinguishing between ideal and actual behaviour, many spoke of helping the native people by aiding and encouraging them as fellow workers in the job situation, by giving them personal advice, and by "mixing freely" and "treating them as equals".

It seems, therefore, that transient whites do tend to define themselves as socializers of the native people, or want to be so defined.¹ If our sample is representative, then this seems to hold true not only among those for whom socialization is an occupational role requirement, but also for many others who are not charged with such responsibilities. Of course, transients do not perceive all of their fellows to be perfect exemplars. About 60 percent expressed the opinion, sometimes without much conviction, that the majority of whites "set a good example" for the native people. Of the many ways in which whites were perceived to set a "bad example", those mentioned most frequently were excessive drinking, sexual deviance, and the display of prejudiced or intolerant attitudes toward Indians and Eskimos.

Vallee also observed that the white socializers at Baker Lake entertained an image of the "ideal Eskimo", and appeared bent upon grooming the local people to conform to this image. Thus conceived, the image was that of a "steady, predictable, bourgeois adult", a hard-working, responsible, future-oriented individual who values his economic independence and is "reluctant to depend on government benefits and charity" (1962:130-31). The transients of Inuvik, making relatively little distinction between Eskimos and Indians, entertain an image of the "ideal native" which differs very little from that of their counterparts in Baker Lake. Asked for their opinions about "the most important qualities that the native person of the future should have", Inuvik whites spoke most frequently of the need for ambition, future orientation, positive attitudes to work, self-reliance, assertiveness, a sense of responsibility, and other related characteristics generally defined as virtuous by the white middle class.

In only one respect did the Inuvik whites appear to differ substantially from those at Baker Lake. Vallee found the Kabloona anxious to see perpetuated those aspects of Eskimo culture which they considered good, and likewise anxious that the "ideal Eskimo" should share this concern. Thus the latter should be interested in arts and crafts, maintain "a sentimental attachment to the Eskimo past" (1962:130), yet be prepared to reject those aspects of traditional life that were at variance with western moral and religious values. In contrast, and with a few exceptions, the people in the Inuvik sample did not exhibit much concern for the perpetuation of native culture and traditions, and only one numbered these preoccupations among the desirable characteristics of the native of the future. This apparent difference may stem from other differences between the two populations studied; it seems possible, for example, that a larger proportion of the Kabloona population at Baker Lake may have had a professional interest, as teachers, welfare administrators, promoters of handicraft production, or whatever, in encouraging a sense of attachment to selected aspects of the traditional culture.²

¹Of course, we do not know to what extent these results may be influenced by respondents' perceptions of what constitutes an "appropriate" mode of response to the relevant questions, but this can be said of the results of almost any opinion survey research.

²Professor Vallee has pointed out that the Baker Lake Kabloona in 1960 were greatly outnumbered by the Eskimo, and probably tended to be in closer and more frequent contact with the native population than were their counterparts at Inuvik seven years later. Being more exposed to native culture, the whites at Baker Lake may have been correspondingly more sensitive to the need for "saving" elements of the culture defined as worthy of preservation.

It does not seem surprising that the socializers disagree at times about what kinds of policies or programs are "best" for the native people. More than half of those interviewed perceived much disagreement among the whites, about one third saw little disagreement, and the remainder had no opinion.

On certain specific issues opinion did appear to be rather sharply divided. At the time of field work, the Inuvik village council was studying the merits of the possible re-introduction of a law, earlier abolished, to permit the sale of beer by the case at the local hotel during evening hours when the government bulk sales outlet was closed. Within our sample the polarization of opinion was nearly complete; about half of the respondents were opposed to the re-introduction of bulk sales at the hotel, most of the remainder were in favour, and very few were indifferent or undecided. No doubt opposition to bulk sales was directly related to the common opinion that native people cannot control their drinking, and would engage in unrestrained orgies of drunkenness if permitted to buy quantities of beer to carry home after spending a night in the hotel beverage room or bar. Of course, for an element in the native population these expectations were not unrealistic.

Again, opinion was almost equally divided as to whether or not native families living in town should be encouraged to seek a greater measure of their subsistence by hunting, fishing, or trapping. Those opposed to such encouragement felt that a decent living could no longer be earned from the land, and thought that the real need was for performance of a socialization function: that is, helping native people to adapt to town life and wage employment.

Some Correlates of Stereotyped Perceptions

We have seen that many whites perceive the native people in terms of a stereotype, according to which the "typical native" is friendly, cheerful, extroverted, impulsive, improvident, irresponsible, careless of the future, and unsophisticated to the point of childishness. At the same time, the stereotype provides for certain distinctions to be drawn between Eskimos and Indians with respect to such characteristics as industry and integrity.

It is possible to combine several items in the interview schedule to form a rough measure of the extent to which the attitudes of respondents conform to this stereotype. Having "rated" and classified respondents along these lines it is then possible, using relatively simple statistical techniques, to consider what relationships, if any, appear to exist between readiness to accept or reject the stereotype and certain other variables. Such an exercise seems worthwhile in an exploratory study, for it may yield useful insights, point up significant variables, and suggest hypotheses for possible future research. However, the task must be approached with the knowledge that there are many pitfalls; any statistical analysis is only as reliable as the data on which it is based, and moreover the results inevitably depend upon how the data are grouped, classified, and otherwise manipulated. In an effort to guard against unwarranted or misleading conclusions, it is necessary to be conservative in the selection of criteria and explicit about procedures. Our methods are described in some detail in Appendix II.

Following a procedure outlined in the Appendix, we classify all respondents according to whether or not their attitudes toward natives show "high conformity" or "low conformity" to the stereotype. Next, looking for relationships between conformity and other selected variables, we employ the Chi-square test of statistical significance, using the .05 level of significance in accordance with the usual practice in social research.¹ Running a series of these tests, we find no statistically significant relationships between conformity and any of the following variables: civilian occupational status, religious affiliation, length of residence at Inuvik, liking for Inuvik, frequency of contact with native people, number of memberships in voluntary associations, authoritarianism.² However, significance is obtained in testing for relationships between conformity and each of the following: length of residence in the north, level of educational achievement, and sex. Consideration of these relationships gives rise to several interesting observations and conjectures.

Conformity and the Sexes

Table A indicates that in the sub-sample of civilians, proportionately more males than females exhibit high conformity, and it is difficult to offer a reason for this. There may be certain differences between men and women with regard to the nature and extent of their exposure to influences which might generate conformity, but what these differences may be can only be guessed. Males and females alike are members of the Inuvik labour force, nearly all come in contact with natives in the work situation (although the nature of such contact may differ), and there is no statistically significant difference between the sexes in frequency of contact outside the work place.³ In any event, we have noted already that frequency of contact as measured here appears not to be related to conformity. Further research would be necessary to determine whether or not the observed difference between males and females is due to sampling error, and if not, to discover what variables may be operating to render males more conformist.

¹For an explanation of the Chi-square test and its uses, see any standard statistical text (e.g. Blalock, 1960: 212-221).

²This last variable was measured using three items derived from the California F Scale of authoritarianism, developed and used in several versions by Adorno (1950), Srole (1956), and others. These items are numbered 55, 56, and 57 and in our interview schedule, and the findings are shown in Tables 62 to 65, inclusive, in Appendix I.

³For purposes of computation, subjects classified as having frequent contact are those who claimed to "meet and talk with" native adults at least once a day, outside the work situation.

TABLE A: CONFORMITY AND THE SEXES (CIVILIANS)

	<u>CONFORMITY</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Males	13	11	24
Females	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>
TOTALS	15	22	37

Chi-square = 3.853; significant at .05

Conformity and Education

The most interesting point about the correlation between education and conformity is that the direction of the relationship appears to be opposite to that which was predicted. The initial hypothesis was that conformity would diminish as the level of educational achievement increased, but Table B indicates that the reverse may be true. Of the subjects whose educational level is above the sample mean (11.5 years), about 55 percent exhibit low conformity, whereas 80 percent of those with below average education show low conformity.

TABLE B: CONFORMITY AND EDUCATION

<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>CONFORMITY</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Above average	13	16	29
Below average	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>22</u>
TOTALS	27	34	51

Mean educational level = 11.5 years

Chi-square = 3.920; significant at .05

Table C shows, furthermore, that this negative correlation continues to hold and continues to show statistical significance when professionals, all of whom have above average education, are removed from the computation.

TABLE C: CONFORMITY AND EDUCATION (PROFESSIONALS EXCLUDED)

<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>CONFORMITY</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Above average	9	8	17
Below average	3	16	19
TOTALS	12	24	36

Mean educational level = 10.8 years
 Chi-square = 3.930; significant at .05
 (Computation includes correction for
 continuity, in compensation for small
 sample size).

At the present time, no explanation can be offered for this result. It is impossible to say whether long formal education functions in some way to induce acceptance of stereotyped definitions and images, or whether there are intervening variables which exert differential influences on the better educated. If contact between natives and the less well educated tended to be less formal and more sociable, such a qualitative difference in contact experience might result in different perceptions and attitudes. Limited to more formal and structured encounters, the better educated might lack the same inducements to abandon or reject elements of the stereotype. Unfortunately, the available evidence offers little to support these notions. Data on the frequency of mutual visiting between transient and native homes provide about the only means available for distinguishing between formal and informal contact. Those reporting frequent visits of this kind do tend to be among the less well educated, but there is no statistically significant correlation. Of course it is always possible that further sampling and the development of better indicators of informal contact might yield significant results.

Conformity and Length of Northern Experience

Table D cross-tabulates conformity with time served in the north. The average (mean) number of months served, not just at Inuvik but at other northern settlements as well, was slightly over 47. It can be calculated from the table that "nonconformists" constitute more than three quarters of those with less than average time served, but less than half of those with more than average time served. The observed difference is statistically significant at the .05 level, suggesting that as length of stay increases, conformity of attitudes to the stereotype likewise increases, and *vice versa*.

TABLE D: CONFORMITY AND TIME SERVED IN THE NORTH

<u>TIME SERVED</u>	<u>CONFORMITY</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Longer than average	12	11	23
Shorter than average	<u>6</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>28</u>
TOTALS	18	33	51

Chi-square = 5.151; statistically significant at .05 level.

On the other hand, if conformity is similarly cross-tabulated with length of residence at Inuvik, the differences between those with longer and shorter terms of residence are considerably reduced, and lose significance. Many transients have served elsewhere in the north before coming to the town, and in fact the mean length of overall northern experience exceeds the mean length of residence at Inuvik by about 20 months. It appears that whatever the apparent relationship between northern experience and attitudes toward native people, it does not necessarily become established at Inuvik. The correlation does give rise to an hypothesis, to be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has examined some characteristics of a sample of "long term" white transients living at Inuvik and employed by the federal government. Among other things, we have looked briefly at the background and origins of subjects in our sample, their reasons for going to the north, their impressions of Inuvik, their definitions of major community problems, and their attitudes toward the government and toward the native people who live and work beside them.

If the sample is representative, then it would appear that Inuvik's transients tend to come from small communities in southern Canada, typically in the western provinces. Even those not born in the West tend to be living there when recruited for northern service. Their level of educational achievement is well above the national average, and they are inclined to be somewhat younger than are adults in the country as a whole. The desire for adventure, new experience, or escape from routine existence is perhaps the most common reason given for going north, usually combined, of course, with job incentives of one kind or another.

Apparently most newcomers learn to like Inuvik, making a reasonably satisfactory adjustment to the unfamiliar environment despite some of its uncomfortable aspects. In the main, they like the town for its small size and "friendly" atmosphere. The modern facilities and accommodations often surpass their expectations. Many seem to enjoy the opportunities for taking part in sports, recreational, and community service associations, servicemen participating about as much as civilians in some of these activities. On the other hand, attitudes toward Inuvik are not entirely favourable. There is a fairly widespread sense of confinement and isolation, and complaints about local class distinctions are heard frequently.

Transients exhibit a good deal of consensus in defining community problems, often speaking of excessive drinking, sexual promiscuity, the existence of social barriers between white and native people, and the tendency of natives to harbour attitudes detrimental to their absorption in a modern wage economy.

The government is much criticized for its handling of Indian and Eskimo affairs, being variously accused of failure to provide good jobs and decent housing, of fostering "irresponsibility" through allegedly indiscriminate social assistance measures, and of having unrealistic expectations concerning the ability of native people to cope with change. A good many transients seem disillusioned and somewhat alienated from the government which employs them.

As we have seen, perceptions of the native people are generally in conformity with certain stereotyped images, both positive and negative. Eskimos in particular are defined as cheerful extroverts; Eskimos and Indians alike are thought to lack

initiative, responsibility, concern for the future, and other values and orientations deemed necessary for "getting ahead" in middle class terms. Most significant, perhaps, is the widespread conviction that natives tend to behave in a manner which is essentially childlike, and thus, like children, they must be taught to exercise initiative, develop self-reliance, practise self-restraint, and generally cope with a complex, changing world. In short, the natives must be socialized, and many whites seem prepared to define themselves as teachers and exemplars, thereby accepting some degree of responsibility for the success of the socialization process. It may seem inconsistent, therefore, that most whites seem to have only casual, fleeting, and limited contact with Eskimos and Indians, particularly outside the work situation. However, the inconsistency may be more apparent than real. In the larger Canadian society even the most kindly and dedicated socializers, parents, teachers, and institutional custodians alike, manage in one way or another to limit and control their contacts with those who they define as being less than full adults.

Some Possible Implications

In the beginning, we suggested that Euro-Canadian definitions of the native people probably would affect their adaptations to a changing social environment. This idea is based on the proposition that an individual derives his beliefs, his manner of behaving, and even his identity from those social groups whose opinions are important to him. These we call his reference groups. From this sociological perspective, a man tends to become what he is defined to be by persons whose opinions and convictions he feels inclined to value or accept; in behavioural terms, he tends to conform to the expectations held of him by significant others. In a situation where one group enjoys economic and political dominance over another, members of the subordinate group are likely to evaluate themselves, at least in some degree, according to criteria established by the dominant group. Consequently, they are likely to experience feelings of inadequacy or incompetence,¹ and to behave in accordance with these self-perceptions. The significance which these considerations have for ethnic relations in the north has not gone unrecognized by other researchers.

In his study of deviance at Aklavik, Clairmont suggests that many native people fail to control their behaviour when drinking partly because they perceive themselves to be defined by the whites as unable to exercise control, and therefore modify their behaviour in conformity with white expectations (Clairmont, 1963:64-66). He further suggests that these people may be accepting a definition of themselves which functions to free them of guilt for their own deviant acts, or alternatively, that they may be manipulating the definition in order to be absolved of responsibility in the eyes of whites in authority.² Vallee also discusses the question of Eskimo conformity to white expectations in his examination of ethnic

¹For detailed discussion of this and related theoretical points, see Shibutani and Kwan (1965). An interesting and highly readable discussion of the nature of identity is contained in Berger (1963).

²Similarly, Braroe (1965) observed that Indians in a small U.S. community found it to their own advantage to behave in conformity with the negative images which whites held of them.

relations at Baker Lake, observing that because the Kabloona define the Eskimos as childish, the Eskimos respond by behaving in a childish manner (1962:129-130).

It is apparent that the same ethnic stereotypes which Clairmont and Vallee discerned in Aklavik and Baker Lake were also held by whites at Inuvik several years later. This being the case, it is reasonable to suspect that the same socio-psychological mechanisms were also operative, and still are, in the context of inter-ethnic relations. If so, we can anticipate that many native people at Inuvik are inclined to perceive themselves as something less than fully competent and responsible adults. This can have a crippling effect on their ability to meet the challenges of modernization.

Of course, there is always the possibility that some native people will reject the evaluations of the dominant group, and that for them it will become what Merton (1957) calls a "negative reference group". In this case, the dominant group becomes an object of deep hostility, and negative valuations are placed upon many or all of its values, beliefs, and standards. The consequences might also be unfortunate for any native people who adopted this response, for it could mean rejecting out of hand certain standards having adaptive utility, simply because they originated with a hated group. Thus if the negative reference group values thrift, industry, and sobriety, it is possible that some individuals may waste their money, grow indolent, and drink to excess.

Of course it has not been our purpose to study the effects of negative stereotyping, but only to look at the nature of the stereotypes themselves. However, it is important to be aware of some of the implications of data pointing to the existence of such stereotypes, and for this reason we have indulged briefly in speculation about some possible responses of the native people. It remains for other research to determine what in fact these responses may be.¹

In the last chapter we noted an apparent relationship between length of northern service on the one hand, and readiness to hold stereotyped definitions of the native people on the other. It seems that the longer white transients remain in the north, the more likely they are to subscribe to ethnic stereotypes. Of course, on the strength of the limited evidence available this should be viewed as an hypothesis for further testing, rather than a firm conclusion. Despite its tentative nature, however, the finding prompts an effort at interpretation.

We recall having found no significant relationship between conformity to stereotypes and frequency of contact with native people, as these variables are measured here. Furthermore, we found no indication that frequency of contact is likely to increase with increasing duration of northern service. This does not, of course, eliminate contact frequency as a possible causal factor, but it does incline us to seek some alternative explanation for the correlation between high conformity

¹Other possible consequences of negative stereotyping in culture contact situations are discussed by Shibutani (1965) and Edgerton (1965).

and long northern experience. While the present findings really cannot provide such an explanation, they do stimulate some insights and suggest an hypothesis.

It seems entirely possible that conformity to stereotyped definitions of the native people tends to increase as contact continues over time with other whites who subscribe to the stereotype. For the newcomer to the north, other transients quickly become an important reference group, a group which provides him with a set of ready made definitions of what constitutes reality in the northern setting, and to which he turns for validation of his own opinions and experiences. It seems reasonable to postulate the existence of a transient subculture — a system of beliefs, values, and behavioural expectations more or less peculiar to groups of northern transients — with which the newcomer must become acquainted if he is to function effectively in the new setting and avoid being defined as a deviant. Many elements of the subculture remain to be identified, but they would almost certainly include the kinds of beliefs about native people which we have been discussing, as well as expectations about how whites should “set a good example” in front of the natives.

Representatives of the transient group function as socializers, imparting to the newcomer the wisdom and lore of the group. These carriers of the subculture operate in a variety of ways. They may be “old Arctic hands” who present themselves as experts and feel impelled to “teach the new boy the ropes”, or they may function in a far less obvious or conscious manner, imparting to the newcomer in a hundred ways, by behaviour, gesture, and verbal utterance, the prevailing attitudes and perceptions of the group. Attitudes and perceptions thus learned are continually reinforced through continued exposure to the group; where they consist of attitudes toward the native people, they also may be reinforced by direct contact and experience with natives, if only because many Indians and Eskimos regularly fail to conform to white standards of behaviour.

It is suggested, then, that the newcomer arrives relatively “uncontaminated” by stereotyped images and subsequently acquires these images, undergoing a kind of conversion over time to the perceptions and attitudes of his associates, learning in the context of a subculture to respond to natives in certain prescribed ways. It need hardly be said that this formulation remains subject to testing and verification, but as an hypothesis it is consistent with observed correlations.

Should it withstand rigorous testing, this hypothesis might have significance for the staff training policies of government agencies operating in the north, for it would indicate a need to instill in new recruits an awareness of the mechanisms of “contamination”. Such awareness might in itself tend to allay acceptance of the negative stereotypes, and to inhibit some of the behavioural forms likely to accompany their acceptance. However, the work of other investigators demonstrates that ethnic stereotypes are extremely persistent in many social contexts, and it would be unrealistic to suggest that any educational measures to eliminate them could be more than marginally successful except over a very long span of time.

APPENDIX I: TABLES

The tables are grouped under the headings of the chapters to which they pertain, and within this framework, the order of their presentation corresponds closely to the order of presentation of the data in the text. A few tables, showing materials not touched upon in the text, are in a separate section. Each table heading shows the number of the related item in the interview schedule (Appendix III).

CHAPTER III: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSIENT POPULATION

TABLE 1: Geographical Origins of Transients (Item 66)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Military (N = 13)</u>		<u>Civilian (N = 36)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
British Columbia	—	—	2	6
Alberta	2	15	8	22
Saskatchewan	1	8	8	22
Manitoba	2	15	3	8
Ontario	3	23	5	14
Quebec	2	15	—	—
New Brunswick	—	—	1	3
Nova Scotia	3	23	1	3
Northwest Territories	—	—	2	6
Outside Canada	—	—	6	17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	13	99	36	101

TABLE 2: Origins of Transients by Community Size (Item 65)

<u>Community Size</u>	<u>Military (N = 14)</u>		<u>Civilian (N = 35)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 1,000	3	22	14	40
1,000 to 4,900	3	22	7	20
5,000 to 9,900	1	7	1	3
10,000 to 24,900	2	14	2	6
25,000 to 99,900	2	14	4	11
100,000 to 499,900	1	7	4	11
500,000 and over	2	14	3	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	14	100	35	100

TABLE 3: Last Place of Residence in the South, by Community Size (Item 1)

<u>Community Size</u>	<u>Military (N = 15)</u>		<u>Civilian (N = 33)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 1,000	—	—	3	9
1,000 to 4,900	—	—	8	24
5,000 to 9,900	—	—	3	9
10,000 to 24,900	—	—	1	3
25,000 to 99,900	4	27	—	—
100,000 to 499,900	11	73	16	49
500,000 and over	—	—	2	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	15	100	33	100

TABLE 4: Age Distribution of Respondents (Item 62)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>
20-24	4	6
25-29	2	11
30-34	6	5
35-39	3	5
40-44	1	5
45-49	—	2
50-54	—	2
55 and over	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	37

TABLE 5: Distribution of Respondents according to Highest Level of Education Attained (Item 63)

	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Primary School	1	2	—	3
Some High school	10	9	—	19
High School Graduation	4	7	8	19
Some college	—	3	5	8
College Graduation	—	—	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	15	21	15	51

The only commissioned officer in the sample, a high school graduate, has been excluded from the computation in order to facilitate comparison between military personnel and non-professional civilians.

TABLE 6: Families by Number of Children (Item 64)¹

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Total Families</u>
	<u>All Ranks N = 14</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l N = 15</u>	<u>Prof'l N = 10</u>	
0	—	2	3	5
1	2	3	1	6
2	7	5	3	15
3	3	—	3	6
4	2	3	—	5
7	—	1	—	1
8	—	1	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	14	15	10	39

¹ There were 89 children living at home, for a mean of 2.3 children per family. Civilian professionals, with a mean of 1.6 children per family, came closest to the national average of 1.9 (1966 Census of Canada, Vol. 11) Children ranged in age from four months to 20 years, the mean age being about 8 years.

TABLE 7: Religious Affiliation of Respondents (Item 61)

	<u>Military</u>		<u>Civilian</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Protestant	8	50	27	73
Catholic	7	44	6	16
None	1	6	4	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	100	37	100

CHAPTER IV: ADAPTING TO LIFE AT INUVIK

TABLE 8: Time Served in the North (Item 2)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Military</u>		<u>Civilian</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
0.0 – 0.9	2	12	5	14
1.0 – 1.9	4	25	6	17
2.0 – 2.9	3	19	7	20
3.0 – 3.9	—	—	1	3
4.0 – 4.9	—	—	4	11
5.0 – 5.9	3	19	2	6
6.0 – 6.9	2	12	2	6
7.0 – 7.9	—	—	2	6
8.0 – 8.9	—	—	3	8
9.0 – 9.9	2	12	1	3
Over 10	—	—	2	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	99	35*	100

*Does not include two respondents who reported that they “grew up” in the north.

TABLE 9: Time Served in Inuvik (Item 3)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Military</u>		<u>Civilian</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
0.0 – 0.9	6	37	9	24
1.0 – 1.9	5	31	10	27
2.0 – 2.9	2	13	6	16
3.0 – 3.9	2	13	4	11
4.0 – 4.9	—	—	1	3
5.0 – 5.9	1	6	2	5
6.0 – 6.9	—	—	2	5
7.0 – 7.9	—	—	2	5
8.0 – 8.9	—	—	1	3
TOTALS	16	100	37	99

TABLE 10: Expected Duration of Remainder of Stay at Inuvik (Item 12)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
0 – 0.9	7	6	3	16
1 – 1.9	6	5	7	18
2 – 2.9	3	2	1	6
3 – 3.9	—	2	—	2
4 – 4.9	—	—	—	—
5 – 5.9	—	—	1	1
6 – 6.9	—	1	—	1
15 yrs	—	—	1	1
Indefinitely	—	3	—	3
Undecided	—	3	2	5
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

Each estimate which overlaps any two time categories is included in the lower category. Thus, if a subject said that he planned to stay “2 or 3 years”, his response is included in the “2 – 2.9” interval.

TABLE 11: Length of Time Respondents Reported Wanting
To Remain in the North (Item 13)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
1.0 – 1.9	—	1	1	2
2.0 – 2.9	2	1	4	7
3.0 – 3.9	2	2	—	4
4.0 – 4.9	1	—	—	1
5.0 – 5.9	1	—	2	3
10 to 15	—	1	1	2
Indefinitely ¹	—	9	3	12
“A few years”	—	2	1	3
Not for long ²	6	1	1	8
Don't know, Undecided ³	4	5	2	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ One respondent in this category planned to build a house in Inuvik. Others prepared to remain indefinitely did not wish to stay in Inuvik, but preferred more accessible locations served by roads.

² Includes those who wished to remain only long enough to complete their tours of duty, and others who wished to stay “only a short time”, or to “get out as soon as possible”.

³ Includes one who entertained the possibility of remaining until retirement.

TABLE 12: Reasons Offered Most Frequently for Going North —
 Civilians Only (N = 35) (Item 4A)

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Non-Professionals</u> (N = 20)	<u>Professionals</u> (N = 15)	<u>Totals</u>
Job Incentives — General	12	9	21
Higher Pay specified	(4)	(4)	(8)*
Teach natives specified	—	(4)	(4)*
Adventure, Travel, New Experience	7	11	18
Outdoor Recreation, Escape the City	5	1	6
Spouse or Relatives Moved North	4	1	5

*Totals also included in “Job Incentives General”.

TABLE 13: Responses to the Statement that “Most of the people who live in serviced area are friendly and sociable” (Item 17)

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u> (N=15)	<u>Non-Prof'l</u> (N=22)	<u>Prof'l</u> (N=15)	
Agree	9	13	9	31
Partly Agree	5	2	3	10
Disagree	—	4	2	6
Undecided	1	3	1	5
TOTALS	15	22	15	52

NOTE:

Inclusion of the “Partly Agree” response category is an attempt to take into account, in an approximate way, the very considerable differences in strength of conviction with which respondents agreed. Thus 41 said that they agreed, but 10 of them attached some notable qualification to their agreement, offering various comments of which the following are examples:

- (1) “They’re not unfriendly, but they’re not very sociable”;
- (2) “They’re friendly and sociable with other people in the serviced area”;
- (3) “After they’ve been here about a year, they learn that you can’t live in this world alone”.

It can be said, therefore, that about 60 percent of respondents offered unqualified agreement with the statement.

TABLE 14: Reported Participation in Sports and Outdoor Recreation (Item 15)

<u>Competitive Sports</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
curling	10	12	12	34
baseball	10	6	5	21
basketball	5	5	2	12
badminton	2	2	6	10
volleyball	4	0	1	5
other	4	2	2	8
none	3	8	2	13
<u>Outdoor Recreation</u>				
hunting	6	8	5	19
fishing	10	16	8	34
boating	9	13	8	30
hiking	4	10	9	23
skiing	2	2	8	12
other	2	10	7	19
none	3	2	2	7

Those reporting no participation tended to have arrived at Inuvik recently. In addition, about half of those reporting no participation in competitive team sports were aged 35 or over.

TABLE 15: Reported Participation in Social Activities (N=46) (Item 16)

<u>Kinds of Activities</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u> (N=13)	<u>Non-Prof'l</u> (N=20)	<u>Prof'l</u> (N=13)	
Parties	13	17	12	42
Dances	13	13	7	33
Visiting Friends	13	19	12	44
Other	0	2	2	4

TABLE 16: General Impressions of Inuvik (Item 6)

	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Likes Inuvik	7	15	12	34
Is Ambivalent	6	5	3	14
Dislikes Inuvik	2	2	—	4
No Opinion	1	—	—	1
	16	22	15	53

TABLE 17: "Main Things" Liked About Inuvik (Item 7)

<u>Likes</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians (N=37)</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>(N=16)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
		<u>(N=22)</u>	<u>(N=15)</u>	<u>(N=53)</u>
Small Community	7	8	6	21
Friendly Atmosphere	5	6	8	19
Sports, Recreation	6	5	5	16
Living Quarters	4	6	4	14
Own Work	—	4	6	10
Social Life	2	4	—	6
Native People	—	1	5	6
Town's Appearance	2	2	1	5

TABLE 18: “Main Things” Disliked About Inuvik* (Item 8)

<u>Dislikes</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians (N=37)</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>(N=16)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
(a) <u>Environmental</u>				
Isolation	—	7	5	12
Climate	4	5	1	10
Insects	2	2	1	5
Dust, mud	2	1	1	4
Housing	—	1	2	3
(b) <u>Economic</u>				
Local Prices	2	7	1	10
Shopping Facilities	2	2	2	6
Postal, Travel Costs	2	—	2	4
Own Job	—	1	2	3
(c) <u>Social</u>				
Social Divisions	3	7	4	14
Native Living Conditions	2	3	3	8
Government Administration	1	2	3	6
Heavy Drinking	1	4	1	6
Natives Lack Opportunity	1	2	—	3

* Includes only those types of response heard most frequently. A few miscellaneous responses are not recorded.

TABLE 19: Ways in Which Inuvik Differed From Respondents' Expectations
Before Arrival – Most Frequent Responses (Item 10)

<u>Respondent Expected</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians (N=36)</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks (N=15)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Smaller town	5	9	2	16
Poorer facilities	1	5	1	7*
Poorer Housing	1	2	3	6
Less Modern Town	—	3	3	6
Worse Climate	1	2	—	3
About as expected	6	3	1	10
No preconceptions	1	4	4	9

* A subsequent question (Item 11, Table 21) revealed more respondents who had expected fewer facilities.

TABLE 20: Deprivations Associated with Northern Living (Item 9)

<u>Things Missed</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians (N=37)</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>(N=16)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Travel (All modes)	9	7	9	25
Travel by auto	8	4	7	19
Outdoor Recreation	5	6	3	14
Shopping	4	4	4	12*
Television	6	2	2	10
Choice of Movies	1	2	4	7
Live Entertainment	—	2	5	7
Dining Out	3	2	2	7
Spectator Sports	4	—	1	5
Other Entertainment	4	3	—	7
Friends, Relatives	1	2	2	5
Meeting New People	—	1	3	4
Fresh Food	—	2	2	4
Other	2	—	3	5
Misses Nothing	—	6	1	7**

* Women constituted exactly half of those who said they missed opportunities for shopping in a variety of stores.

** Includes two who missed “very little”, and one who missed “nothing except shopping”.

TABLE 21: Respondents Who Expected or Did Not expect “so many modern conveniences and facilities” (Item 11)

	<u>Military (N=9)</u>	<u>Civilians (N=33)</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Expected	4	6	7	17
Not expected	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>25</u>
TOTALS	9	18	15	42

TABLE 22: Number of Affiliations and Memberships in Associations, as Reported by Respondents (Item 14)

<u>Memberships</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
0	5	5	3	13
1	3	7	5	15
2	5	5	1	11
3	1	2	2	5
4	1	2	1	4
5	—	1	1	2
6	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTALS	15	22	15	52

TABLE 23: Memberships and Affiliations by Type of Organization (Item 14)

<u>Type of Organization</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Sports and Recreational ¹	12	24	22	58
Community Service	1	6	6	13
Youth Work ²	6	2	2	10
Economic and Occupational	—	4	4	8
Religious	1	—	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	20	36	34	90

¹ The Local Legion chapter is here classed as recreational. While the Legion apparently does provide certain community service functions, nevertheless its functions appear to be primarily recreational. Since only 13 Legion memberships were reported, inclusion of these in the "community service" category would not alter the fact that most memberships are in sports and recreational organizations.

² Five servicemen and three civilians were engaged in "youth work" (coaching teams, supervising scouts, etc.). As the table indicates, some worked with more than one group of youngsters.

TABLE 24: Perceived Opportunities for Taking "A Leading Part in Community Life" (Item 39)

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u> <u>(N=6)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=16)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=13)</u>	
Are enough opportunities ¹	5	12	11	28
Are not enough opportunities	1	1	1	3
Don't know, undecided	—	3	1	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	6	16	13	35

¹ Responses in the first category seem to reflect, in part, the not uncommon observation that Inuvik is "over organized", in the sense that a large number of voluntary associations compete for the time of a limited number of people. Several respondents claimed that opportunities for community participation abounded, and some said that most people were too apathetic to participate. Mailhot (1968) found evidence that only a relatively few local residents could be classed as "active" participants in community life.

TABLE 25: Participation in Voting in Last Election for Village Council (Item 59)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilians</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Voted ¹	4	7	9	20
Did Not Vote ²	12	15	6	33
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ It is noteworthy that the proportion of servicemen who voted is close to that of civilian non-professionals, while professionals included a considerably larger proportion of voters.

² Includes two who were not living in Inuvik at the time of the election, and four who claimed that they had not been eligible to vote. Several others claimed they had been unable to vote because of temporary absence from the community.

TABLE 26: Respondents Subscribing and Not Subscribing to Inuvik's Weekly Newspaper (Item 60)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u> <u>(N=13)</u>	<u>Civilians</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=21)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=15)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Subscribers ¹	11	18	14	43
Non-Subscribers	2	3	1	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	13	21	15	49

¹ Includes six who did not subscribe, but claimed to buy the newspaper regularly.

CHAPTER V: DEFINING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

TABLE 27: "Important Social Problems" Identified Most Frequently (Item 18)

<u>Problem Category</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilians</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u> (N=16)	<u>Non-Prof'l</u> (N=22)	<u>Prof'l</u> (N=15)	
I DEVIANCE				
Drinking	6	13	12	31
Promiscuity	—	4	3	7
Illegitimacy	—	2	3	5
Delinquency	—	—	3	3
Child Neglect	—	2	—	2
II POOR COMMUNITY INTEGRATION				
Integration specified	—	—	3	3
Transiency	—	—	4	4
Whites Divided	—	3	3	6
White — Native Relations	6	9	8	23
III NATIVE ATTITUDES				
Lack Pride	1	3	1	5
Irresponsible, No Initiative	—	4	3	7
Unwilling Workers	3	2	4	9
Resent Whites	3	4	3	10
Low Morals	—	—	3	3
IV WHITE ATTITUDES				
Intolerance, prejudice	1	6	5	12
Lack Understanding	—	—	3	3
V NATIVE NEEDS UNFULFILLED				
Lack education	1	1	5	7
Lack jobs	1	1	1	3
Poor housing	7	2	2	11
Recreation lacking	1	4	2	7
Poor Health (includes VD)	2	3	5	10

VI INADEQUATE GOV'T
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In education	1	—	3	4
In welfare	3	3	4	10
In giving jobs	2	1	—	3
In housing	—	2	—	2

* There is some overlapping of Categories V and VI. The latter shows cases where government was specifically criticized, in response to this question, for allegedly failing to meet the needs of native people. With reference to the welfare program, invariably it was charged that social assistance payments were made too readily available.

TABLE 28: Social Problems Identified as "Most Important".
(Item 19).

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Drinking	4	7	4	15
Promiscuity	—	2	1	3
Delinquency	—	—	1	1
Native-White Relations	3	4	3	10
Whites Divided	—	1	—	1
Natives Irresponsible, Lack Initiative	1	2	4	7
Whites Intolerant, Prejudiced	—	2	1	3
Native housing	2	1	—	3
Poor recreational facilities	1	1	1	3
Native Education	1	—	—	1
Don't know, No Opinion	4	2	—	6
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

TABLE 29: Groups Perceived to Have "The Most Serious Problem" with Alcohol (Item 43).

<u>Groups Named</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	(All Ranks) (N=16)	Non-Prof'l (N=21)	Prof'l (N=15)	
Natives in General ¹	13	10	9	32
Indians specified	1	1	1	3
Eskimos specified	—	2	—	2
White in General	1	1	1	3
Whites specified ²	—	2	—	2
White, native Problems equal	1	2	1	4
Undecided ³	—	3	3	6
TOTALS	16	21	15	52

¹Includes three or four who were inclined to choose natives over whites, while indicating at the same time that this opinion was not an absolutely firm conviction. Also included in the first category are four who specified natives in the younger age groups, ranging from 15 to 35 years.

²One respondent in this category singled out unmarried whites, while the other specified servicemen.

³Includes five who were clearly undecided in choosing between whites and natives, but who did not say specifically that their problems were of equal proportions. Many others likewise claimed, in response to other questions, that whites had problems with alcohol. Adding together all such responses and eliminating duplications, we find that about 35 percent of the sample considered that abuse of alcohol was a problem among whites in general, or among certain groups of whites in particular.

TABLE 30: Perceptions of Social Class Divisions at Inuvik (Item 21)

	<u>Military</u> <u>(N=2)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=11)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=5)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Perceives class divisions	2	8	5	15
Denies Class divisions	—	2	—	2
Undecided	—	1	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	2	11	5	18

TABLE 31: Agree/Disagree that “the government is doing a pretty good job in its effort to help the native people” (Item 22).

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	6	8	7	21
Disagree	4	6	5	15
Ambivalent, Undecided	2	8	3	13
Don't know	4	—	—	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

TABLE 32: "Main things" that government has done to help the Native People (Item 23).

<u>Service¹ Provided</u>	<u>Military (All Ranks) (N=16)</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Non-Prof'l. (N=22)</u>	<u>Prof'l. (N=14)</u>	
Education ²	8	13	10	31
Medical services	1	3	2	6
Better Housing	2	2	—	4
Job Opportunities	3	1	—	4
A voice in Politics ³	—	1	—	1
Little or Nothing ⁴	2	3	1	6
Don't Know	1	2	1	4
TOTALS	17	25	14	56

NOTES:

¹Total responses exceed number of respondents because three subjects identified two "main things", giving equal weight to education and to health services.

²Three who chose education also mentioned vocational training.

³"A voice in politics" refers to Eskimo membership in the Northwest Territories Council.

⁴Those who thought government had done "little or nothing" tended to emphasize alleged negative effects of government programs, claiming that native people were being made "too dependent" or were being "pushed too hard" toward integration with whites. Three subjects modified these negative reactions, conceding that educational services had been beneficial in some measure.

TABLE 33: Most frequent suggestions for improving services “To help the native people”. (Item 24).

<u>Suggestions</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>(All ranks)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l.</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
a. More adult education	1	2	8	11
b. More vocational training	1	3	1	5
c. Other suggestions re education ¹	—	3	4	7
d. Reduce welfare aid ²	2	3	5	10
e. Stimulate self-reliance ³	—	2	2	4
f. Provide more jobs, better jobs. ⁴	5	2	3	10
g. Improve housing, services.	4	7	1	12
h. Improve government efficiency, planning.	1	1	3	5
i. Reform, enforce liquor laws	1	1	—	2
j. Equalize law enforcement ⁵	1	1	—	2
k. Don't know.	6	3	1	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	22	28	28	78

NOTES:

¹“Other suggestions” included the training of native teachers, teaching children in their native language, adoption of stronger measures against truancy, etc.

²Responses in Category “d” reflect the common belief that government is too generous and indiscriminate in distributing social assistance funds, thereby undermining the initiative and self-reliance of the native people.

³In terms of the underlying reasoning, responses in Categories “d” and “e” are similar. The latter includes references to the notion that government should stop being “overly helpful”, stop “catering” to the native people, and avoid various kinds of alleged preferential treatment (e.g. applying lower standards of job performance, offering free vocational training).

⁴Three respondents in Category “f” stressed the need to provide better jobs, not just more jobs. It was suggested that native people who did have enough education to do white collar work were denied the opportunity, either because jobs were unavailable, or because prevailing hiring practices discriminated against them.

⁵One thought police treated whites more leniently, the other that natives received preferential treatment.

CHAPTER VI: VIEWING THE NATIVE PEOPLE

TABLE 34: Self-Reported Frequency of Contact with Native Adults. (Item 47).¹

<u>At Least:</u>	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Once a day	13	18	12	43
Once a week	2	3	3	8
Once a month	—	—	—	—
Less than monthly	—	1	—	1
Practically never	1	—	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Subjects were asked to estimate roughly how often they “meet and talk with” native adults.

TABLE 35: Places of Contact with Native Adults. (Item 48).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
At work	15	19	15	49
At club meetings ¹	9	14	12	35
At Community				
Social Functions	9	18	12	39
At private parties ²	9	10	7	26
In Church	6	11	8	25
At Store	12	22	11	45
Other ³	8	19	11	38

¹ An undetermined number of native people belonged to the curling club, and the “club or association meetings” most frequently mentioned were curling matches.

² Nearly half of the people in this category said that they met native people at private parties “seldom”, or “occasionally”, or “very rarely”. In fact, these terms were used repeatedly by respondents in all categories shown in the table.

³ The “other” place most frequently mentioned was “on the street”, while others mentioned the cocktail bar, the restaurant, sporting events, etc.

TABLE 36: Self-Reported Frequency of Contact with Native Adults Outside the Work Situation (Item 49).

<u>At least:</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	(All Ranks)	Non-Prof'l	Prof'l	
	(N=16)	(N=21)	(N=15)	
Once a day	4	12	3	19
Once a week ¹	7	8	11	26
Once a month	2	—	1	3
Less than monthly	1	1	—	2
Practically never	2	—	—	2
TOTALS	16	21	15	52

¹Includes one who reported daily contact in the light season, and weekly contact in the dark season.

TABLE 37: Estimated Frequency of Social Visits by Native People to the Homes of Respondents. (Item 50).¹

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	(All Ranks)	Non-Prof'l	Prof'l	
	(N=14)	(N=20)	(N=14)	
Often ²	1	4	1	6
Sometimes ³	3	6	6	15
Rarely	3	6	4	13
Never	7	4	3	14
TOTALS	14	20	14	48

¹Item 50 was not presented to five unmarried respondents living in barracks and dormitory accommodation.

²One respondent in the "often" category specified that all visits were by one native person. Another pointed up the significance of physical separation of whites and natives when he said: "When we were living in the unserved area we used to have them at our place every night. Now that we're up here it's too far for them to walk".

³Includes two who had not received native visitors themselves, but whose wives had entertained native women.

TABLE 38: Self-Reported Frequency of Social Visits to the Homes of Native People. (Item 51).

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Often	1	5	1	7
Sometimes ¹	2	6	3	11
Rarely	5	6	4	15
Never	8	5	7	20
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹Includes one who said "sometimes" in winter and "often" in summer. Note also that another respondent offered a similar seasonal distinction in response to Item 49 (Table 36).

TABLE 39: "Main Impressions" of the Native people (Item 25).

<u>Impressions</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
A. Friendly, pleasant ¹	5	10	6	21
B. Happy, extroverted	5	8	4	17
C. Generous, kind	1	3	1	5
D. Independent, self-reliant	1	3	—	4
E. Good Workers	1	4	1	6
F. Honest	2	2	—	4
G. Shy, timid	1	1	3	5
H. Lack pride, feel inferior	1	1	4	6
I. Confused, troubled by change ²	—	6	2	8
J. Resent, dislike whites	2	2	2	6
K. Careless of money, possessions	3	—	—	3
L. Lack goals, initiative ³	2	4	7	13
M. Irresponsible	2	2	2	6
N. Dependent	1	3	2	6
O. Lacy, poor workers	5	5	2	12
Q. Drink to excess	2	3	—	5
TOTALS	34	57	36	127

NOTES:

¹Categories (A) and (B) contain responses from 31 persons in the sample. This means that over 58 percent of respondents subscribed in some degree to the popular stereotype of the happy, friendly, "outgoing" native person. The proportions were 44 percent for servicemen, 68 percent for non-professionals, and 60 percent for professionals. The table does not, however, take account of certain qualifications offered by a small number of respondents, including the few who made distinctions between Indians and Eskimos, or between the "older" and "younger" generations.

²Includes two who thought that native people tended to "resent" change, as well as others who considered them to be "baffled" or "depressed" by the changes around them.

³Includes repeated references to an alleged absence of future orientation; native people were said to be careless about "getting ahead", or about "putting something aside for a rainy day".

TABLE 40: "In general, most native people will never get ahead in the modern world until they learn to plan for the future" (Item 26).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	11	22	14	47
Disagree	3	—	—	3
Undecided ¹	—	—	1	1
Don't know	2	—	—	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹The respondent classed as "undecided" expressed doubt that native people could "get ahead" even if they did become future oriented, partly because they seemed to lack the other qualities necessary to "success" in the larger society, and partly because of white prejudice.

TABLE 41: "Most native people don't know the value of money but waste it instead on things they don't need" (Item 27).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	11	17	11	39
Disagree	3	2	2	7
Partly agree, ¹ undecided	1	—	2	3
Don't know	1	3	—	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹Includes two who thought that native people wasted money in terms of Euro-Canadian values, but not in terms of their own. A third agreed with the first part of the statement but was doubtful about the second part.

TABLE 42: "Most of the native people are almost as impulsive as children in the way they behave" (Item 28).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	9	8	4	21
Disagree	6	11	8	25
Partly agree, ¹ undecided	—	2	3	5
Don't know	1	1	—	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Several who "partly agreed" wondered if perhaps it was extreme to say that "most" native people were childishly impulsive. A few claimed that certain groups (younger persons, people in steady employment) tended to be less impulsive than others.

TABLE 43: "In spite of what some people say, there are no really important differences between Eskimos and Indians" (Item 29, first part).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	6	7	1	14
Disagree	7	11	10	28
Partly agree, undecided ¹	1	—	1	2
Don't know	2	4	3	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ The serviceman who was "undecided" thought that Indians, and especially Indians in more southern regions, might be more dependent than Eskimos. The other respondent in this category was a teacher who agreed with respect to children, but had no opinion concerning adults.

TABLE 44: "Important Differences" Perceived Between Eskimos and Indians (Item 29, second part).¹

	<u>Military</u> (All Ranks) (N=8)	<u>Civilian</u> Non-Prof'l (N=11)	<u>Prof'l</u> (N=8)	<u>Totals</u>
Eskimos seen as: ²				
More friendly, cheerful, extroverted	1	5	4	10
More independent, self-reliant	1	3	3	7
More industrious, goal-oriented	3	3	2	8
More honest	1	1	—	2
More adaptable	1	—	1	2
Other differences ³	3	7	3	13
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTALS	12	19	14	45

¹Only respondents who disagreed that there were "no important differences" (and one who was undecided) were asked to specify differences.

²Most responses were couched in terms of Eskimos having "more" of some quality than Indians, and therefore this pattern is followed in presenting the data. Where Indians were said to have "less" of some quality (or "more" of its opposite), the responses are simply transposed to fit the predominant pattern.

³The "other" category chiefly includes "one of a kind" responses which could not otherwise be classified. Thus, Eskimos were said to be more fatalistic, more tractable, less industrious, less proud, less self-oriented, etc.

TABLE 45: "In general, Eskimos are more honest and 'open' than Indians" (Item 30).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	5	11	3	19
Disagree	4	5	2	11
Partly agree, ¹ undecided	—	—	4	4
Don't know	7	6	6	19
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹Two respondents in this category agreed that Eskimos were more "open" but not that they were more honest, while two others were inclined to agree with the statement but expressed some uncertainty.

TABLE 46: "Indians are just as hard-working and industrious as Eskimos" (Item 31).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	3	11	4	18
Disagree ¹	4	8	10	22
Partly agree, uncertain	2	—	1	3
Don't know	7	3	—	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹One professional disagreed not because she subscribed to the stereotype of the lazy Indian, but because she considered Indians to be *more* industrious than Eskimos. Three respondents thought that Eskimos were more industrious because historically their environment and way of life had been more difficult.

TABLE 47: "The Metis (or half-breeds) tend to be more hard-working and industrious than either Indians and Eskimos" (Item 32).

	<u>Military</u> <u>(All Ranks)</u> <u>(N=15)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=22)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=14)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	1	2	1	4
Disagree	5	12	8	25
Partly agree, undecided	—	1	—	1
Don't know	9	7	5	21
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	15	22	14	51

TABLE 48: "Most native people are just too lazy, or don't care enough, to take part in community affairs" (Item 33)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	4	5	—	9
Disagree ¹	8	14	14	36
Partly agree, undecided ²	2	—	—	2
Don't know	2	3	1	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Many who disagreed offered alternative explanations for failure to take part, mentioning shyness, language difficulties, inferiority feelings, rejection by whites, and failure to understand or appreciate what could be accomplished by group action.

² Respondents in this category agreed that most native people did not "care enough", but disagreed that they were lazy.

TABLE 49: "Until the native people have a lot more education, they cannot be expected to help much in running the affairs of the community"
(Item 34)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	7	11	5	23
Disagree ¹	9	9	8	26
Partly agree, undecided	—	2	2	4
Don't know	—	—	—	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Those who disagreed or partly agreed tended toward the opinion that native people had enough "common sense" or "good judgement" to help in running the the affairs of the community, if given the opportunity.

TABLE 50: "The native is basically a good man in the bush, but life in the settlements has spoiled him" (Item 35)¹

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree	8	11	6	25
Disagree	6	8	3	17
Partly agree, undecided	2	1	5	8
Don't know	—	2	1	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Cohen classified whites living in the north according to three general types: traditionalists, apathetics, and new reformers (Cohen, 1962: 94-95). In Cohen's formulation, traditionalists think the native should "get his living from the bush", and typically subscribe to views like those expressed in items 35 and 36. However, results of the present research suggest that agreement does not necessarily serve to identify the traditionalists. For example, one subject said: "I agree, but that suggests we should put him back in the bush, and I don't agree with that". Others who agreed also demonstrated orientations which were not traditionalist, in response to other items. However, Cohen does not deny that seemingly conflicting orientations may co-exist in the same individuals, and we are not trying to suggest that his formulation is wrong.

TABLE 51: "It seems that native people have less sense of responsibility now than they did before the government started handing out so much welfare assistance" (Item 36)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>Prof'l</u>		<u>Totals</u>
Agree ¹	9	16	10	35
Disagree	1	2	—	3
Partly agree, undecided	1	1	3	5
Don't know	5	3	2	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ It appears that the high rate of agreement with this item does not so much reflect "traditionalist" orientations as it reflects strong feelings against what is perceived to be the government's welfare (social assistance) policy. Of course, it also suggests how widespread is the belief that natives are "irresponsible". In fact, this belief was expressed by about 80 percent of respondents, either in reply to this or other questions.

TABLE 52: "Native people have more difficulty than whites in controlling their behaviour when they have been drinking" (Item 44)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u> <u>(N=9)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=15)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=13)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Agree ¹	7	12	11	30
Disagree	2	2	2	6
Don't know	—	1	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	9	15	13	37

¹ Includes several who attached qualifications to their agreement, indicating that it was difficult to generalize in the light of evidence suggesting that many whites also had difficulty in exercising control.

**TABLE 53: Respondent Assessment of Own Ability to “Help the Native People”
(Civilians only - Item 38)¹**

	<u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=20)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=15)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Yes, can help	12	13	25
No, cannot help	4	1	5
Don't know, undecided	4	1	5
TOTALS	20	15	35

¹ This item was exploratory in nature and intent, being included in the hope of obtaining some information concerning the whites' perceptions in their own roles vis-a-vis the native people.

**TABLE 54: Ways in Which Whites Are Perceived to “Set a Good Example”
For Native People (Item 40)**

Example Set By:	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Work attitudes, ¹				
job performance	4	6	7	17
Style of Life ²	6	8	6	20
“Proper” Public Behaviour	—	4	1	5
Cordial, Egalitarian ³				
Treatment of Natives	—	7	3	10
Money Management	1	4	1	6
Community Participation	2	1	1	4
Attitudes to Education	2	2	1	5
Few ways, or none ⁴	3	4	3	10
Don't know	4	1	—	5

¹ Includes specific references to punctuality and regular work attendance.

² Includes many references to the exemplary cleanliness and neatness of whites, and to their “home life” and child-rearing practices.

³ Includes references to being “friendly”, and to the good example provided by “mixing” across racial or status lines.

⁴ Three respondents said flatly that there were no ways in which whites set a good example. This was also the initial response of several others, who then modified their judgement and conceded that exemplary behaviour did occur infrequently, or in a few restricted areas of activity. Such modifications are also included in the above enumeration.

TABLE 55: Ways in Which Whites Are Perceived to "Set a Bad Example" (Item 41)

<u>Bad Example Set By:</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Excessive Drinking	11	10	10	31
Sexual Deviance ¹	1	7	6	14
Intolerance, Prejudice, ² "Superior" Behaviour	2	9	6	17
Mercenary or Selfish Attitudes	1	2	4	7
Disinterest in Community Affairs	—	1	3	4
Poor Sportsmanship	—	—	2	2
Poor Work Attitudes	—	1	1	2
Living in Luxury ³	1	—	1	2
Other ⁴	1	2	1	4
Don't know	3	2	—	5

¹ Includes eight respondents who charged white males with sexual exploitation of native females. Other references were to alleged promiscuity within and across racial lines, but without emphasis on the exploitative aspects.

² Most respondents indicated that in their view, intolerance and prejudice were largely conscious and deliberate. However, two or three considered that many people behaved, thoughtlessly and unintentionally, in ways which conveyed to natives an impression of intolerance and disparagement.

³ Respondents in this category deplored the contrast between white and native life styles.

⁴ Includes allegations of poor church attendance, chaotic home life, and dishonesty, together with the notion that civil servants provide a poor occupational example by virtue of their work, not being producers of goods.

TABLE 56: Responses to Item 42: "Do . . . most of the whites here set a good example? "

<u>Response</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u> (N=16)	<u>Non-Prof'l</u> (N=22)	<u>Prof'l</u> (N=14)	
Yes ¹	11	12	8	31
No	3	6	5	14
Don't know, undecided ²	2	4	1	7
TOTALS	16	22	14	52

¹ A number of subjects showed hesitation before giving an affirmative response. Others offered qualifications, either observing that only a small majority provided a good example, or singling out certain activities (drinking) or groups (young single people) which they deemed less than exemplary.

² Includes two who thought that "about half" of whites set a good example.

TABLE 57: "Qualities" Considered Important in the "Native Person of the Future"¹ (Item 37)

	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Sense of responsibility	3	5	5	13
Ambition, drive, future orientation	4	6	8	18
Positive work attitudes	2	3	3	8
Leadership, initiative	2	2	4	8
Self-reliance, self-confidence				
assertiveness	5	5	6	16
Adaptability to change	—	4	4	8
Thriftiness	1	—	2	3
Tolerance of whites	1	2	—	3
Education, training ²	7	10	5	22

¹ Logically there is a good deal of overlapping among categories employed in the table. On the other hand, the category headings do correspond closely to the terms used by respondents, so that they indicate with accuracy the kinds of responses obtained and their frequencies.

² Although it may seem a somewhat less than appropriate response to the question, the need for greater educational achievement was mentioned more often than anything else in replying to Item 37. A few spoke of the need for native people to understand and appreciate the importance of education, both for their own future and that of their children.

TABLE 58: Perceptions of Disagreement Among Whites Concerning What is "Best" for Native People (Item 46)

	<u>Military</u> <u>All Ranks</u> <u>(N=12)</u>	<u>Civilian</u> <u>Non-Prof'l</u> <u>(N=20)</u>	<u>Prof'l</u> <u>(N=15)</u>	<u>Totals</u>
See much disagreement ¹	7	10	10	27
See little disagreement ²	4	8	4	16
Don't know	1	2	1	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	12	20	15	47

¹ Includes three ambiguous responses from subjects who indicated that they perceived much disagreement, but who seemed to contradict themselves with subsequent remarks.

² Subjects who saw little disagreement said repeatedly that many or most whites cared little or nothing about the native people and their problems. A few singled out particular groups, but most seemed to think that disinterest was widespread and general.

TABLE 59: Respondents Favouring and Not Favouring a Beverage Room, a Liquor Store, and Bulk Beer Sales at the Hotel¹ (Sections 1, 2, and 3, Item 45)

<u>Response²</u>	<u>Beverage</u> <u>Room</u>	<u>Liquor</u> <u>Store</u>	<u>Bulk</u> <u>Sales</u>
In favour	46	50	22
Not in favour	5	3	26
Indifferent	2	—	2
Don't know, undecided	—	—	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	53	53	53

¹ Refers to sale of beer by the case at the local hotel, during hours when the government liquor store, the regular bulk sales outlet, is closed. This had been the regular practice at Inuvik for some time and was later abolished; the village council was considering the possibility of its re-introduction at the time of field work.

² For conciseness and readability, our three occupational categories are lumped together in this and the following tables showing the results of Item 45. Considering the present table, patterns of response were similar for all classes with the exception that only about one-third of civilian non-professionals favoured bulk sales, whereas about half of professionals and servicemen were in favour.

TABLE 60: Respondents Favours and Not Favours More Native Participation in Clubs, and More Encouragement For Natives to Live on the Land. (Sections 4 and 5, Item 45)

	<u>More Participation¹</u>	<u>Help to Live on Land²</u>
In Favour	43	25
Not in favour	3	23
Indifferent	1	—
Don't know, undecided	3	5
Not answered	3	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	53	53

¹ This was not a very well-phrased or useful question, its meaning being variously interpreted by those interviewed. Those classed as “undecided” or “not in favour” tended to say either that native people should not be “pushed” into participation, or that they already were active participants.

² Those not in favour of encouraging native people to remain “in the bush” tended to think that a decent living could no longer be earned in this way, and that the real need was to help them in adapting to town life and wage employment. It is interesting that while only 41 percent of civilian non-professionals favoured “encouragement” to go to the bush, 60 percent of professionals did so. From the nature of the comments received, it seems rather unlikely that this difference stems from a more “traditionalistic” orientation among professionals. It seems at least equally possible that professionals were more prepared to tolerate occasional “reversions” to bush life.

TABLE 61: Respondents Favouring and Not Favouring Better Rental Housing, Utilidor Service to the Co-operative Housing Area, and to the Unserviced Area Generally (Section 6, 7, and 8, Item 45)

	<u>Better Rental¹ Housing</u>	<u>Utilidor to² Co-op Housing</u>	<u>Utilidor to³ Unserviced Area</u>
In Favour	41	53	45
Not in Favour	9	—	7
Undecided	3	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	53	53	53

¹ Those not in favour of or undecided about better rental housing said either that the native people did not or would not look after their houses, or that they should be required to pay reasonable rents for them.

² A good many whites seem to consider that the people who have membership in the housing co-operative have demonstrated their desire to “get ahead” and to conform to middle class values regarding property ownership, and are perhaps more “worthy” of receiving utilidor services than are many of the other native people.

³ Those not in favour of providing general utilidor services to the unserviced area said either that the people could not afford the cost of connecting their homes to the services if they were available, or that the present houses were unsuited to utilidor service, or that the native people would abuse the service or neglect to use it properly, thereby causing damage and breakdowns in water and sewer mains, etc.

TABLE 62: Authoritarianism: “The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents”.¹ (Item 55)

Response	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Agree	12	13	4	29
Disagree	4	9	11	24
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Tables 62, 63, and 64 show responses to three items from the California F Scale of authoritarianism. Subjects were invited to respond in absolute terms, rather than in terms of varying gradations of agreement or disagreement.

TABLE 63: Authoritarianism: "Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect" (Item 56)

<u>Response</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Agree	8	15	7	30
Disagree	8	7	8	23
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

TABLE 64: Authoritarianism: "There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong" (Item 57)

<u>Response</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Agree	3	8	1	12
Disagree	12	14	14	40
Don't know	1	—	—	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

TABLE 65: Scores on Three Items in the Authoritarianism Scale¹
(Items 55, 56, 57)

<u>Scores</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
0	1	4	6	11
1	8	7	7	22
2	6	6	1	13
3	1	5	1	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ In this table, a score of one is assigned to each respondent each time he agrees with one of the items taken from the authoritarianism scale, so that the maximum score is three. There seems to be a greater tendency to authoritarianism among civilian non-professionals than among the other groups in our sample. Civilian professionals show the least tendency to authoritarianism.

MISCELLANEOUS TABLES

TABLE 66: Mobility Orientations: "Would you let your friendship ties in a community stand in the way of moving to a better job? " (Item 52)¹

<u>Response</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Yes	1	4	2	7
No	14	18	10	42
Undecided	1	—	3	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

¹ Items 52 and 53 (Tables 66 and 67) are taken from Neal and Seeman (1964).

TABLE 67: Mobility Orientation: "Would you turn down a substantial advancement if it involved being away from your family a good deal? " (Item 53)¹

<u>Response</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
	<u>(N=14)</u>	<u>(N=12)</u>	<u>(N=6)</u>	
Yes	12	9	4	25
No	2	3	1	6
Undecided	—	—	1	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	14	12	6	32

¹ Sex and marital status are controlled, only the responses of married males being shown in the table. Of six married females in the sample, four replied affirmatively and one negatively, while one was undecided. Unmarried persons were not asked the question.

TABLE 68: Mobility Orientations: Showing Respondents Who Chose Job Satisfaction Over High Pay, and Vice Versa, as Criteria in Job Selection (Item 54)

<u>Choice</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
High Pay	5	—	—	5
Job Satisfaction	11	21	13	45
Undecided	—	1	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

TABLE 69: “In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better” (Item 58)¹

<u>Response</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>All Ranks</u> <u>(N=15)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Agree	1	5	—	6
Disagree	14	16	13	43
Don't know	—	1	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	15	22	15	52

¹ This item is taken from the Srole Anomie Scale (Srole, 1956).

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Whereas Chapter VI leaves unexplained the method whereby subjects were classified as conformists or nonconformists, this appendix undertakes to make the procedure explicit.

As a first step, the following items selected from the interview schedule were used for ordering respondents according to the degree to which they appeared to accept stereotyped definitions of the native people:

- Item 26: In general, most native people will never get ahead in the modern world until they learn to plan for the future.
- Item 27: Most native people don't know the value of money but waste it instead on things they don't need.
- Item 28: Most of the native people are almost as impulsive as children in the way they behave.
- Item 30: In general, Eskimos are more honest and "open" than Indians.
- Item 31: Indians are just as hard-working and industrious as Eskimos.
- Item 33: Most native people are just too lazy, or don't care enough, to take part in community affairs.

These items do not, of course, constitute a scale in the sense that this term is used in social research, although a proper scale might be developed through careful testing and refinement of items similar to these. A scale is an instrument of measurement consisting of a set of items which, taken together, form a series of points on a continuum with respect to some variable. The variable being considered here is conformity of attitudes to stereotyped definitions, and we are not justified in assuming that the above items form points on a continuum of conformity-nonconformity. However, for present purposes, and lacking any better instrument, the items can be treated somewhat *as if* they constituted a scale, in the conviction that, in combination, they do provide at least a rough measure of the degree to which respondents subscribed to the stereotype.

We assign a score of one to each respondent each time he agrees with one of the selected items (or disagrees, in the case of Item 31), so that the maximum "conformity" score for any respondent is six. Summing the scores for each respondent produces the results shown in Table X.

Table X: Scores on Six Items Measuring Conformity to Stereotyped Definitions of Native People

<u>Scores</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
0	—	—	—	—
1	3	1	3	7
2	5	3	5	13
3	5	8	2	15
4	—	10	4	14
5	3	—	1	4
6	—	—	—	—
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

The Chi-square test has been selected for use in examining possible relationships between conformity and certain other variables. For technical reasons having to do with the nature of the test and the size of our sample, it is necessary to define conformity as a dichotomized variable; thus respondents are classified as "conformist" or "nonconformist" without making use of any intervening categories or gradations of conformity. In so doing, we select an arbitrary cutting point, defining all who score four or more points as conformist, and all with less than four points as nonconformist. This yields the distribution shown in Table Y.

TABLE Y: CONFORMITY BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

	<u>Military</u>	<u>Civilian</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>(All Ranks)</u>	<u>Non-Prof'l</u>	<u>Prof'l</u>	
Nonconformist (1 - 3 points)	13	12	10	35
Conformist (4 - 6 points)	3	10	5	18
TOTALS	16	22	15	53

Similarly, all other variables must be dichotomized for test purposes: subjects are classed as liking or disliking Inuvik, being above or below average in educational achievement, and so on. We adopt these procedures recognizing that in so doing, we sacrifice some of the "richness" of the data, lose sight of many of the finer distinctions which might be evident if some other means of analysis were employed, and run the risk that certain intervening variables, over which we can exercise no control, may be affecting the test results in unknown ways. On the positive side, these procedures impart to the analysis a certain degree of rigour, but hopefully not to the extent that statistical exactitude becomes disproportionate in relation to the

limited objectives of an exploratory study, or to the rather uneven quality of some of the data.

APPENDIX III

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introductory Note

There was no opportunity for pre-testing the interview schedule, and it was necessary to make a number of revisions, deletions, and additions as interviewing progressed. More than 50 questions were retained throughout, with few or no changes. What follows is the final version of the schedule. To the end, it contained some items of limited usefulness and others which might have been better formulated. It is easier to detect flaws in retrospect than when under the pressures of field work, when even rather major errors sometimes may be overlooked.

In this exploratory study, the inclination to ask a great many questions covering a wide range of topics proved irresistible, even at the risk of making the schedule excessively long. Surprisingly few respondents objected to the length of the interview, and a fair number claimed to enjoy the experience.

The introduction outlining the purpose of the study was not read to prospective respondents, but it does show essentially what was said to them by way of initial explanation.

The Northern Coordination & Research Centre (NCRC) is conducting a survey in the serviced area to find out how people from the south like Inuvik, and to get their opinions on how Inuvik might be made a better place to live. We are also looking for opinions and ideas that might assist the government in future community planning, and in developing its policies for helping the native people of this area. Of course, all opinions you may wish to express are confidential. No names will be used in any report, and everyone's answers will be put together and treated statistically.

1. I'd like to start by asking: Where was the last place you lived before you came to the north?
2. How long have you been in the north?
3. And how long have you been in Inuvik?
- 4A. (*Ask all but Navy personnel*)
What was it that attracted you to the north?
(Probe: Anything else?)

4B. (*Ask Navy personnel*)

Did you volunteer for northern duty?

(If yes) What was it that attracted you to the north?

5. Did you have any choice of northern posting?
And did you choose Inuvik?
6. In general, how did you like Inuvik?
7. What are the main things that you like?
8. And what are the main things that you dislike?
9. What do you miss in the north that you used to do before you came here?
10. Is Inuvik pretty much the way you expected it would be before you came, or is it different in any important way?
11. Did you think that Inuvik would have as many modern conveniences and facilities as it has?
12. How long do you expect to remain in Inuvik?
13. How long would you like to remain in the north?
14. Do you belong to any associations, clubs, or teams in Inuvik? (list names of associations).
15. Do you take part in any sports or outdoor activities in Inuvik?

curling	_____	hunting	_____
badminton	_____	fishing	_____
hockey	_____	boating	_____
soccer	_____	hiking	_____
baseball	_____	skiing	_____
		other	_____
16. Do you take part in any social activities, such as:

parties	_____
dances	_____
visiting friends	_____
other	_____
17. Would you agree or disagree with this statement: Most of the people who live in the serviced area are friendly and sociable.

Agree	_____	Disagree	_____
-------	-------	----------	-------

Now I'd like to ask for your opinions about problems in the community. Remember we are not looking for right or wrong answers. Its just your own opinions I'd like to have.

18. First, what would you say are one or two of the more important social problems in Inuvik at the present time?
19. And what do you think is the *most* important problem?
20. How do you think this problem might best be solved?
21. Some people say there are social class divisions in Inuvik. Would you agree with this or not?
22. On the whole, would you agree or disagree that the government is doing a pretty good job in its effort to help the native people?
23. What would you say is the main thing the government has done to help the native people?
24. Is there anything the government or other agencies could be doing that they are NOT doing, to help the native people?
25. From your experience and what you have heard, what would you say are your main impressions of the native people?

Now I'm going to read a number of statements about native people and I'd like you to say if you agree or disagree with them.

26. In general, most native people will never get ahead in the modern world until they learn to plan for the future.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

27. Most native people don't know the value of money but waste it instead on things they don't need.
28. Most of the native people are almost as impulsive as children in the way they behave.
29. In spite of what some people say, there are no really important differences between Eskimos and Indians.
(If disagree) What would you say are some important differences?
30. In general, Eskimos are more honest and "open" than Indians.
31. Indians are just as hard-working and industrious as Eskimos.
32. The Metis (or half-breeds) tend to be more hard-working and industrious than either Indians or Eskimos.
33. Most native people are just too lazy, or don't care enough, to take part in community affairs.
34. Until the native people have a lot more education, they cannot be expected to help much in running the affairs of the community.
35. The native is basically a good man in the bush, but life in the settlements has spoiled him.

(If agree) How do you think it has spoiled him?

36. It seems that native people have less sense of responsibility now than they did before the government started handing out so much welfare assistance.
37. What do you think are the most important qualities (characteristics, traits) that the native person of the future should have?
38. Do you feel that while working in the north, you yourself can do something to help the native people progress toward a better life?
(If Yes) How do you think you can help?
39. Do you think there should be more opportunities for people like yourself to take a leading part in community life?
40. What are some of the ways in which whites set a good example for the native people?
41. What are some of the ways in which whites set a bad example?
42. Do you think that *most* of the whites here set a good example?
43. What group of people in Inuvik would you say has the most serious problem with alcohol?
44. Would you agree or disagree that in general, native people have more difficulty than whites in controlling their behaviour when they have been drinking?
45. Are you personally in favour or not in favour of the following:
- 1) a beverage room in Inuvik _____
 - 2) a liquor store in Inuvik _____
 - 3) sale of beer by the cash at the hotel _____
 - 4) more participation by native people in clubs, such as the Curling Club or the ICA _____
 - 5) more encouragement for native families to go to the bush to fish, hunt or trap _____
 - 6) better rental houses for the native people _____
 - 7) a utilidor to the coop housing area _____
 - 8) a utilidor to the unserved area _____
46. Do you think that many people in the served area strongly disagree about what is best for the native people? _____
47. Roughly, how often would you say that you meet and talk with *adult* native people?
- Would you say: _____
- at least once a day _____
- at least once a week _____
- at least once a month _____
- practically never _____

48. *Where* do you meet and talk with *adult* native people?

at work _____
at club or association meetings _____
at community social functions _____
at private parties _____
in church _____
at the store _____
other _____

49. How often do you meet and talk with native people *off the job*? Would you say:

practically never _____
less than once a month _____
at least once a month _____
at least once a week _____
at least once a day _____

50. Do native people ever visit your home socially?

(If yes) Have they visited you: often _____
sometimes _____ or rarely _____

51. Have you ever visited the home of a native person socially?

(If yes) Have you visited them: often _____
sometimes _____ or rarely _____

Finally, I'd like to ask you opinions and ideas on several points which don't relate just to life in this community, but are more general in scope.

52. First, would you let your friendship ties in a community stand in the way of moving to a better job?

53. Would you turn down a substantial advancement if it involved being away from your family a good deal? ¹

54. Which do you think would be more important to you:

- (a) a job at \$8,000 a year that you found very enjoyable
(b) a job at \$12,000 a year that you did not enjoy very much²

Would you agree or disagree with the following statements:

55. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.

¹ Items 52 and 53 are derived from Neal and Seeman (1964).

² Several other salary figures also were used with this question, but in all cases the results seemed of doubtful worth in trying to determine occupational mobility orientations.

56. Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect.
57. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.¹
58. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.²
59. Did you happen to vote in the election for village council, or were you unable to for some reason?
60. Do you subscribe to the local newspaper?
61. May I ask what is your religious affiliation?
62. And may I ask your age? _____
63. What was the last grade (or year) you completed in school?
64. (*If married*) And how many children do you have? _____
Ages of children _____
65. Roughly, what was the population of the town in which you grew up? _____
66. In what province? _____
Occupation:³ _____

¹ Items 55, 56, and 57 are from the California F Scale of Authoritarianism.

² Item 58 is from the Srole Anomie Scale.

³ Respondent's occupation usually was known in advance from local records or other sources.

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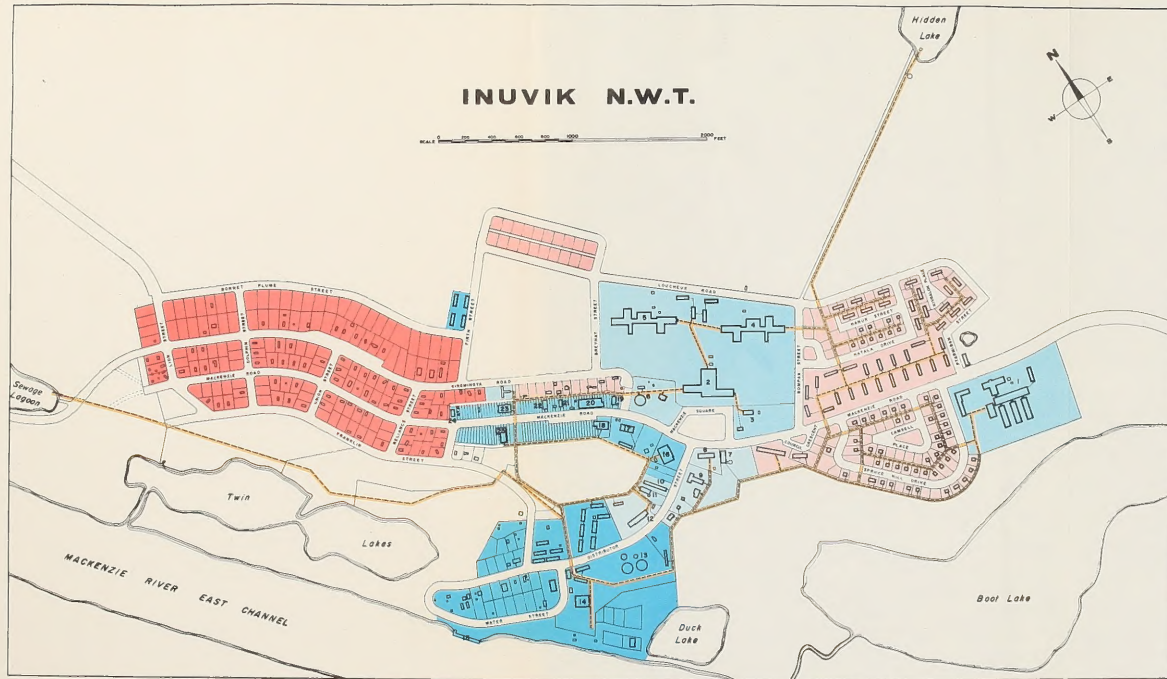
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INUUVIK N.W.T.

SCALE 0 200 400 600 800 1000 2000 FEET



INUUVIK, N.W.T.

LAND USE

- Government
- Institutional
- Commercial
- Industrial & Warehousing
- Serviced Government & Company Housing
- Co-operative Housing Development
- Unserviced Housing
- Utilidor



BUILDING IDENTIFICATION KEY

1. Hospital
2. School
3. Anglican Church
4. Anglican Hostel
5. R.C. Hostel
6. R.C. Church
7. Research Laboratory
8. Federal Building
9. R.C.M.P.
10. Curling Rink
11. Legion Hall
12. Navy
13. Oil Storage
14. N.C.P.C.
15. Dock
16. Hotel
17. Theatre
18. Cafe
19. Bakery
20. H.B.C. Dept. Store
21. C.N.T.
22. Bank
23. Liquor Store
24. Semmler's General Store
25. Laundry

Jan. 1966 Base map - Loates Associates (with revisions)

